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Volume I, 1930

VEDIC VARIANTS

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

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VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated
Mantras of the Veda

BY

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Volume I

THE VERB

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PREFACE

Here is presented the first volume of the *VEDIC VARIANTS*. The aim of this work is to present a grammatical and stylistic study of the entire mass of the variant readings in the repeated mantras of the Vedic tradition, as revealed primarily by Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*. That book presents a complete 'index to every line of every stanza of the [then] published Vedic literature [and of some works not yet published at the time], and to the liturgical formulas thereof.' Of its some 90,000 entries, not far from a third occur more than once, either in the same text or in different texts. Of the repeated text-units, again, it is estimated that about one-third show variations. The *VEDIC VARIANTS* are concerned with the variant readings of these repeated mantras, numbering roughly 10,000.

As to extent, the variations range all the way from change of a single letter in a single word, to radical rearrangements of the whole text. They may or may not be accompanied by shift of meaning, great or slight. They may be assumed to have been made sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously. As to character, they are of the most varied sort. They concern phonetics, the interrelation of different sounds and sound-changes; various departments of morphology, such as formation of stems of nouns, pronouns, and verbs, their inflection, and suffixation; syntax; order of words in the sentence; synonyms; meter; etc. There is hardly an important paragraph in Vedic grammar, or a department of the textual criticism and exegesis of the Veda, on which they fail to throw light.

Furthermore, it is believed that the Variants will have great interest and value for general linguistics. The literature of the world happens to contain no analogous body of material which can compare with them in size and scope. The tradition of the Veda was at first oral; and

what was originally one and the same stanza or formula was handed down in the texts of the various schools in more or less varying forms. The variants are often of the same general character as those which appear in the various forms of ballads, or of church hymns: there are simple differences in the order of words; differences due to the substitution of a more familiar, handy, or modern word or grammatical form for an archaic, inconvenient, or obsolescent one of equivalent meaning or function [or the converse of this, due to a conscious archaizing tendency]. To this must be added the very important point that there are also many

cases in which a given mantra passage, composed under certain definite circumstances, was later on adapted and changed to serve a new purpose.

Furthermore, Vedic literary production is often in a high degree imitative and mechanical (a trait which it shares with most religious literature). The poets or priests, more or less consciously, fell into habits of expression such that entire lines of different stanzas or hymns, and considerable sequences of words of different prose passages, show much similarity.

So, but for the bracketed phrases, Bloomfield wrote in the Preface to his Concordance, before he had systematically studied the Variants. Later he would probably have laid greater stress on the presumably unconscious element in the variations, which was perhaps at least as weighty as the conscious, and is certainly at least as interesting linguistically. I suspect, at any rate, that we learn even more about the speech-habits of the Vedic priests from the changes which they introduced without realizing it, than from their deliberate alterations. But whether conscious or unconscious—and at this distance it is obviously impossible to separate the two classes with confidence—any linguistic scholar will see at a glance how many interesting observations can be drawn from these thousands of variations, touching on every field of grammar and of linguistic psychology.

From the pages of the Concordance, Bloomfield collected and classified the Variants in a preliminary way, arranging them topically under ten or a dozen main heads, with numerous subdivisions in each. Of course very many passages had to be included several times over under different headings. This preliminary spade-work was completed when he proposed to the present writer a collaborative enterprise, which offer was gladly accepted. This was about 1913. In the next half-dozen years I worked up from Bloomfield's lists, supplemented by further gleanings of my own, a preliminary draft of four of the major sections of the work: those on Phonetics (including Euphonic Combination or Sandhi), on Noun Formation (stems and suffixes), on Noun Inflection, and on Order of Words. Bloomfield completed the first draft of the greater part of the section on the Verb. There the matter rested, for lack of prospect of publication. Bloomfield left collectanea on Synonyms, Pronouns, and Prepositions and Particles, and a few minor lists, in addition to those already mentioned. A section on Meter would also be desirable.

On Bloomfield's death in 1928, I took charge of the entire work, and I have since revised and completed the section on the Verb, here presented. It seems best to publish it first, since the major part of it

can be issued substantially as it came from the pen of one of the world's greatest Vedists and linguistic scholars.

The publication has been made possible by the generous aid of the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, and of the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES, to both of which hearty thanks are due and are hereby tendered. The surviving author also desires to express his deep appreciation of the staunch and effective support given to the project by the Chairman of the Committee on Publications of the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, Professor George Melville Bolling.

Since the work on the Variants has been a collaborative enterprise, and since it was Bloomfield's intention that it should appear over our joint names, no attempt has been made to separate the contributions of the two authors. It would, indeed, be impossible to make such a separation completely. Credit belongs to Bloomfield alone for the general plan of the whole work on the Variants; it was he who conceived it and sketched its outlines. He also prepared, from the Concordance, the preliminary lists of materials for this as well as for nearly all the volumes to follow. To some extent these lists have been expanded by further search on my part, in the Concordance and elsewhere. Moreover, it was Bloomfield, as stated above, who prepared for publication the first draft of the major part of this volume, on the Verb. To be exact, he wrote out a draft of all except the long chapter on Person and Number, the last in the book. I have checked and revised his manuscript, verifying most of the references from the original texts, and making such changes as seemed to me necessary. Most of the changes were of the sort which I am confident he would have made himself in a final revision. I have preserved his language thruout as far as it was possible to do so. A more radical revision of some paragraphs has been made necessary by the appearance, since Bloomfield wrote his manuscript, of new publications, as for instance Renou's valuable dissertation on *La valeur du parfait dans les hymnes védiques* (Paris, 1925). When I have made such far-reaching changes, and whenever I could not feel entirely confident that Bloomfield would have been in agreement with what I have written, I have enclosed my additions or substitutions in [square brackets], followed by the initials of my name. I hope and believe that, even in these parts (which are not numerous), I have written little that would not have met with his approval. The chapter on Person and Number is entirely my work, aside from the gathering of the preliminary lists, which in this case proved to be rather

incomplete. Under the circumstances I must perforce accept entire responsibility for the final form of the work as printed, as well as for that of all the volumes to follow. In them, unhappily, Bloomfield's share will be much smaller than in this volume; altho I am glad to say that some of the others, notably that on Phonetics, received considerable attention from him.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The abbreviations used need little explanation. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance; except that, of course, the letter *ḥ* is substituted for *ç*, as also in all Sanskrit words, in accordance with the now prevalent international usage. Other abbreviations are rarely used and, it is hoped, will be self-explanatory. *RVRep.* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*.

Two symbols, which are frequently used, require explanation: the asterisk * and the dagger †.

The asterisk * is used to indicate a variant reading of one text when the mantra occurs in the same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute. For instance: *satyaṁ vadiṣyāmi* (TA.* *vadiṣye*) TA. (bis) TU. ŚG. MG. This means that TA. has the pāda in both forms, namely, *satyaṁ vadiṣyāmi*, and *satyaṁ vadiṣye*.

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance. For instance: *tat satyaṁ yad vīraṁ bibhṛtaḥ* (MŚ.† *ṛtaḥ*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. This means that the reading of MŚ. is wrongly quoted in the Concordance (it fails to note the variant *bibhṛtaḥ*).

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY

Scope and plan of this work

§1. The variations in verbal inflexion are concerned with every leading aspect under which the verb is treated in the grammars. They are, however, dealt with here not in the usual order of the Sanskrit grammars, but either according to their relative importance, or in accordance with certain logical and practical conveniences. These interchanges are, in any case, heterogeneous, partly formal, partly syntactical, and partly stylistic; the boundary lines between these kinds are hazy. The more important rubrics, such as voice, mood, and tense, are, moreover, so large a part of the whole as to call for first consideration; to some extent they serve as a convenient background for assorting and placing the remaining interchanges. It has seemed best then to present the subject under the following nine larger rubrics:

- II. The Voices
- III. The Moods
- IV. The Tenses and Tense-Systems
- V. The Secondary Conjugations
- VI. Interchange between finite Verbs and Verbal Nouns
- VII. Interchanges of equivalent Personal Endings
- VIII. Matters pertaining to Augment and Reduplication
- IX. Variation in Grade of Stems and Allied Matters
- X. Person and Number

§2. By way of illustrating the combined effects of most, or at least many, of these phases of verbal variation in the case of a given root, we have chosen the root *hū* 'call'. The interchanges practised on the body of this root are gathered in the following list:

hūve nu (RV. VS. KS. MahānU. *hwayāmi*) *śakram puruhūtam indram*
RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.
sarasaśāhī sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*; comm. *ahvayanta*) RV. AV.
KS.
sarvān agnīn apsuṣado hūve vaḥ (MS. om. *vaḥ*) TS. MS. AB.: *śivān*
agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe AV.
marutevantaṁ sakhyāya havāmahe (SV. *huremahī*) RV. SV.

tañ (RV. om.) *sarāsvantam avase huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*; RV. KS. *johavīmi*) RV. RVKh. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agnīm (AV. *ukthair*; MahānU. *ugram*) *huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhashtāt* AV. TA. MahānU.

ṛtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

prātarjītañ bhagam ugram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. N.

prātāñ somam uta rudrañ huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

mano no ā huwāmahe (Vait. °hī; VS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. *hvāmahe*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. IŚ. ApŚ. Vait. Kauś. The Vait. (20.9) reading should be the same as that of its source, Kauś. 89.1; but 3 mss. of Kauś. read *hvāmahi*, and possibly this should be read in both texts.

rathītamau rathīnām ahva (KS. °nām *huva*) *ūlaye* TS. MS. KS.: *āsūn hure* (AV. *iva*) *sujamān* (AV. °mān *ahva*) *ūlaye* AV. TS. MS. KS.

havante vājasālaye RV.: *huvema vā*° RV. SV. MS. KS.: *hureya vā*° RV. AV.

bṛhaspatīñ vañ prajāpatīñ vo. . . vīśeāñ vo devāñ vīśvatañ pari havāmahe GB. Vait.: cf. *bṛhaspatīñ vīśeāñ devāñ ahañ hure* RV.

§3. If we contemplate this welter of variations we find, in the first place, that it is not due, as might be antecedently supposed, to adaptation. No variant serves a new purpose, different from that of the parallels. They are, without exception, grammatical or mildly stylistic. And they often betray themselves as being blends of two or more existing expressions, which appear in the texts, notably the RV., elsewhere. Thus, in the item

tañ sarāsvantam avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*, KS. *johavīmi*), the unmetrical KS. reading is due, secondarily of course, to the parallel *pāda*

sarāsvantam avase johavīmi RV.

Here *johavīmi* is metrically faultless, and its passage into a wrong place was, perhaps, promoted further by the cadences *avase johavīmi*, RV.

1. 34. 12, and *avase johavīti*, RV. 3. 62. 2; 7. 38. 6.

§4. In no less than five instances of the above list AV. reads, at the end of its *pādas*, *havāmahe* in the place of related expressions in other texts. So favorite a cadence has this become in AV. that we find it in four of these five times as a mildly incommensurable *jagati* cadence in

otherwise *triṣṭubh* stanzas: 3. 16. 2; 7. 6. 2; 7. 40. 1; 16. 1. 13.¹ Only in one case, 3. 16. 1, does the AV. cadence conform to the rest of the (*jagati*) stanza. It is quite clear that AV., tho well acquainted with all the other present stems of the root *hā*, has been enticed into this preference for *harāmahe* by the fact that the word occurs extensively at the ends of *pādas*; e.g. *arase harāmahe* RV. 2. 16. 1; 3. 26. 2; 8. 86. 4; 8. 99. 8; 10. 66. 4, reproduced in two of the four AV. instances; 7. 6. 2; 7. 40. 1. For other numerous instances of *harāmahe* in *jagati* cadence see *RVRep.* 660, under final cadences in *-he*.

§5. That the four present stems of *hā*, namely *hava*, *huva*, *hvaya*, and *johavī*, should interchange in the total oral Vedic tradition, needs no comment. It is, probably, supported by set phrases in which the *hā* present is accompanied by some other word. The only surprising thing is that the popular AV. has not passed over into the (later regular) stem *hvaya*, but, on the contrary, finds it in its heart to exhibit in two instances other stems for *hvaya* of parallel texts²:

hure nu (RV. VS. KS. MahānU. *hvayāmi*) *śakram puruhūtam indram*
RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.

sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV. AV. KS.³

§6. For interchange in this group between moods, tenses, augmented and augmentless forms, and so forth, see the respective rubrics. Barring occasional textual blunders, these and the countless others like them from other roots are one and all outcomes of Vedic tradition as a whole, which in the main does not show the formal, syntactic, and stylistic stability which is customary in literature of a more advanced type. For the most part, as may be seen, rubric by rubric, the variations between text and text are based upon the natural freedom of expression in prayers and songs of praise, and upon the looser syntax which, compared for instance with Greek and Latin, pervades Sanskrit from the Veda to the end of its career. Faults of memory no doubt entered largely into these variations, and so help to account for such instability in the tradition of the Vedic mantras, which was so largely oral.

¹ In one internal occurrence, 7. 63. 1, AV. uses *harāmahe* where it can only be called a gross metrical blunder: *agnīm* (AV. *ukthair*, MahānU. *ugram*) *hurema* (AV. *harāmahe*) *paramāt endhasthāt* AV. TA. MahānU.

² See Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 21. 48; *The Atharvaveda* 50, n. 5.

³ Here, to be sure, the AV. canon. reads *ahvayanta* with the rest. The variant quoted by the Conc. as *apām napātām āśrīnā hure dhiyā* (TS. *āśrīnā hvayantām*) is a slip; TS. reads *havantam* and this does not concern the root *hā*.

Ambiguous grammatical forms: augmented and augmentless preterites

§7. According to a familiar experience of Vedic grammar it is quite often difficult, or even impossible, to determine the precise formal or functional meaning of certain Vedic verbs. This difficulty would, to some extent, seem to be eliminable by means of the variants which are, of course, occasionally in the nature of reciprocal comments. Thus augmentless preterites are not infrequently in interchange with unambiguous modal forms. This makes, or seems at first blush to make, *prima facie* evidence in favor of the modal (injunctive) value of the corresponding augmentless forms, and as a rule we have so classified them. Thus in the class 'Subjunctive and Injunctive', §167 f., the augmentless forms are regarded as modal. Yet they might in perhaps every case be considered preterites, but for that very interchange with subjunctives, as e.g. in

prācīnam śīdat (MS. *śīdat*) *prācīna pṛthivyāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

Nay more: even in spite of that interchange, there is no way of proving that they are not to be considered preterites. For, as we shall show, §§112 ff., indicatives of all sorts, and §§127 ff. more particularly preterites, exchange with moods of all sorts on a huge scale for good and proper reasons, so that the alternation of *śīdat* and its apparent interpreter *śīdat* really proves nothing in itself. The decision in such cases must be left to tactful individual considerations.

§8. We would draw attention here to a few especially vexing cases of this sort, e.g.:

havyā te svadantām (MS. *svadan*¹, KS. *asvadan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'delightful to taste be (were) to thee the oblations.' Here *svadan* may be injunctive to match the modal (imperative) *svadantām*; or it may be preterite indicative to match *asvadan*.² Chi lo sa? Similarly, in

kāman (AV. PB. *kāmaḥ*, KS. *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV. *vīśa*, KS. PB. *vīśat*) AV. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ., *viśat* is ambiguous; it may be preterite, to match *vīśa*, or injunctive to match *viśa*. Of a different aspect is

āsan ā (SV. PB. *āsan naḥ*) *pātram janayanā* (KS. ^{tu} *devāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.

¹ In one of two occurrences the MS. mss. and ed. read *svadam* (p.p. likewise), which is probably an error as indicated by the other reading in the same text, the possibly a transitive 1st person sing.

² And that whether we regard it as augmentless with the mss. and p.p. of MS., or as intended for '*svadan* = *asvadan* of KS.; we ignore at this point this purely formal question as to whether an augment is or is not felt as present where Vedic sandhi permits the elision of initial *a*, a question which obviously increases the dubiety of some of the forms we are discussing; see §§264ff.

'the gods begot (shall beget) him (Agni) as a vessel at their (our) mouths.' We have classified (§136) *janayanta* as imperfect, because that seems to us the better sense; we are frankly subjective, as we think we must be. In other words, we refuse to attach value in this instance to the implied comment of the single *janayantu* of KS. Yet the Kāthakas, if we may trust their tradition, evidently conceived the passage reasonably enough. Next,

tisro yad agne śaradaś tvām ic, dhucim ghṛteṇa śucayo h saparyān (TB. *saparyan*), *nāmāni cid dadhire yajñīyāni* RV. TB.,

'when for three autumns (seasons? = one year, Bergaigne 2. 117 n.) the puro (gods?) honored with ghee just thee, O Agni, the pure one, they obtained names (forms) worthy of sacrifice.' Here one might classify *saparyan* as injunctive, because of the modal value of *saparyān*. But [the reason for this modal form has never been explained (F. E.), and] a glance at §§264 ff. shows that augmentless imperfects may be regarded just as easily as true imperfects. On the whole, in spite of the implied comment of *saparyān*, we have preferred to construe (§145, d) *saparyan* as imperfect. [This may, indeed, suggest the reason for TB's variation; to the feeling of TB., as to ours, an imperfect indicative was perhaps required. F. E.]

§9. Similarly, in

jātaḥ prchad (SV. *prchād*) *vi mātaram* RV. SV.

(cf. *vi prchad iti mātaram* RV.) 'as soon as born he asked his mother', the SV., wholly contrary to our sense of fitness, imposes modal value upon the verb. More perplexing than these is the small list discussed §268 (cf. §145), in which augmented imperfects interchange with corresponding augmentless forms in dependent clauses. The latter may be either imperfects, or injunctives, which occur freely enough in relative clauses, see §§125 and 168. In brief, the evidence of the variants, taken by itself, rarely if at all fixes the syntactical value of augmentless preterites.

Uncertainty as to the moods of certain presents and aorists

§10. In this work, as elsewhere, it is hard to distinguish modal forms of the root-present and the accented *a*-present (aorist present) from the modal forms of the root-aorist and the *a*-aorist. In two related cases, *maro vūrta* (TS. *vṛṇta*; KS. *vareta*) *sakhyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

dyumnas (KS. also ^one) *vṛṇta puṣyase* (KS. *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

we have followed what may be called the orthodox classification of the

forms *varita* (Lat. *volūte*) and *vareta* as aorists. The decision is grounded on the absence of forms with primary endings by the side of these forms. We are of course not influenced by the present-tense variant *vr̥ṣita*, which is ambiguous as to mood.* But this criterion is not always valid in our eyes. In §219 a, occur seven cases in which *kṛdhi* (once *kṛṣva*) exchanges with *kṛṇu* and *kuru* (once *kṛṇusva*). We have taken *kṛdhi* to be aorist imperative, contrary to some authorities (e.g. Grassmann, *Wbch.* 334b), not deterred by sporadic back-formations (from this very *kṛdhi*) into the present: *kṛthas*, *kṛtha* (cf. Whitney, *Roots*, 21). With some hesitation we have also classed as aorists the first of the following pairs: *pātam*, *pibatam* (notwithstanding RV. *pānti*, §210, a); *kr̥tā*, *kr̥ṇota* (*ibidem*); *manai*, *manve* (§119). Or we have shirked a final decision as to whether the first is a present or an aorist in the following pairs: *yukṣvā*, *yūṅkṣvā* (§192); *madawu* (probably present), *mandasva* (*ibidem*). Various cases of ambiguity spring from thematic *a*: is it present sign or subjunctive sign on the body of a non-thematic form? Thus in *karati*, *karoti* (§124, end), cf. *karati*, *kṛṇotu* (§154), and *karaḥ*, *kṛṇotu* (§104, o), in both of which last cases we classify *kara-* as aorist subjunctive. Doubtful also is *vanate*, varying with both the present *vanute* and the aorist *vanāte* (§117), or, again, with *vanutām* (§§116, 154, 191).

§11. In the perfectly clear expression

sa tevātebhyaḥ pari dadāt (TA. *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyaḥ* RV. AV. TA. N.

'he shall hand thee over to these manes', both forms, though grammatically ambiguous, are treated as respectively subjunctive and injunctive (see §167). They might also be regarded as imperfect indicatives, thematic and non-thematic; see §193 where occur what may be felt as the same forms, since the circumstances make it impossible to say whether the augment was felt with them or not.

§12. In all these and similar cases we have often classified on what may be called the line of least resistance, on the basis of common sense and average Vedic habit; and we have not, in all cases, thought it necessary to suggest the obvious alternative. Cf. on this theme Neisser, *BB.* 7. 211 ff.

Imperatives (?) or Subjunctives in se

§13. Of exceptional interest are the two forms *stuge* and *kṛṣe* interchanging with *stuhī* and *kṛdhi*, listed §165. We have inclined to regard

* Perhaps best considered optative in view of the parallels, tho in itself it might equally well be injunctive or imperative.

them as 2d person singular middle imperatives, or perhaps better subjunctives, corresponding to the well-established class of active modal forms in *si*.

Phonetic variants: interchange between t and th in 2d plurals

§14. A number of phonetic variations are so constant as to raise the question whether the resulting formal differences are not in part mere oral blunders, especially in cases where one of the verb-forms is questionable on some other ground. The most important of these is the interchange between *t* and *th*, part of the broad chapter of interchanges between unaspirated and aspirated stops, which will appear as an important part of our volume on Phonetics. Thus the 2d plural endings *ta* and *tha* interchange freely, there being rarely any connexion in which either of them, notwithstanding their modal difference, is impossible or even difficult; cf. the other interchanges between indicative and imperative, §116. The chronology of the texts generally decides in favor of one or the other:

taṁ sma jānīta (VSK. °*tha*) *paramo vyoman* AV. VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

MŚ. Here *jānītha*, tho perfectly sound grammar, is a secondary blend of *jānīta* and (subj.) *jānātha* in the kindred formula: *etaṁ jānātha* (KS. *jānīta*; TB. *jānītāt*) *pa° vy°* VS. KS. ŚB. TB.; cf. *jānīta smainam* (TS. MŚ. *jānītād enam*) *pa° vy°* AV. TS. MŚ.

§15. In the next, *kṛtha* is a dubious root present, really a back-formation from aorists such as *kṛdhi*. Yet it is certainly the original reading: *yad āmayati niṣ kṛtha* (TS. MS. KS. *kṛta*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§16. In the following group, primary *tha*, with indicative sense, is secondary and more or less inferior to the ending *ta* with injunctive or imperative sense:

devebhyo bhavata (TB. °*tha*) *suprāyaṇāḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.

śivā no bhavata (ApŚ. °*tha*) *śivase* MS. ApŚ.

kuddhāḥ pūtā bhavata (TA. °*tha*, MG. °*ntu*) *yajñīyāsaḥ* RV. TA. MG.

tena kṛīḍantiḥ (ŚG. *kṛīḥ*) *carata* (ŚG. °*tha*) *priyeṇa* (AV. *vakāt amu*) AV. TS. ŚG. PG. VIDh.

āsvā bhavata (AV. TS. KS. °*tha*) *vājinaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *devā bhavata vā°* RV.

datto asmābhyam (etc., see §250, p. 165) *draviṇḥa bhādrām* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇam yac ca bhādrām* MS.

§17. Wholly anomalous, not to say impossible, are the traditionally recorded *tha*-forms in the next two:

ye 'tra pitarah . . . bhūyāsta AV. ŚŚ.: *pa etasmiñ loke . . . bhūyāsta* TS. TB. Of course a precative formation cannot, according to decent grammar, have a primary ending; yet apparently all mss. of both AV. and ŚŚ. agree on *-tha*; see Whitney on AV. 18. 4. 86.

arātāg udabhartsata (AV. mss. *°tha*) AV. ŚŚ. The AV. mss. at 20. 139. 1 read thus; in an augmented form *tha* is a monstrosity. Roth's violent emendation, *āsannā udabhir yathā*, has of course no standing.

§18. On the other hand the forms in *tha* claim precedence in the following:

payasvatīḥ kṛṇuthāpa (TS. *°tāpa*) *oṣadhīḥ śivāḥ* (TS. om. *iti°*) AV. TS. *ud trayathā* (MS. MŚ *°tā*; AV. KS. *°ta*) *marutah samudratah* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ.

yūyañ (MS. *divo*) *vṛtīm varṣayathā* (MS. *°tā*) *puriṣiṇah* RV. TS. MS. KS.

§19. Doubtful as to precedence are:

aulaba (HG. *°eo*) *it tam upā hwayatha* (HG. *°to*) ApMB. HG. *sapitrikāgām jāgratha* PG.: *yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ. Cf. Stenzler's note to translation of PG. 1. 16. 22.

Phonetic variants: interchange between t and th in 2d and 3d duals

§20. About equally often the 2d and 3d dual forms interchange so as to involve *t* and *th*; these cases will be classified in greater detail in the section on Person, below. The decision as to priority depends on attendant circumstances, notably the relative chronology of the texts:

hato (SV. TB. *hatho*) *vṛtrāṇy āryā* (AV. TB. *apratī*) RV. AV. SV. TB.

Followed in RV. SV. by the next two:

hato (SV. *hatho*) *dāsāni satpallī*, and: *hato* (SV. *hatho*) *vikvā apa dvīṣah* RV. SV. An entire stanza is changed here from 3d person reference to direct address; see below, §§329, 332.—As in this case, the *t* forms are prior in:

sam (ApMB. *sam*) *ūdho romaśam hatah* (ApMB. *hathah*) RV. ApMB. The form *hathah* is absurd, though apparently very old in the Ap. tradition, see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., p. xx.

purā gṛdhrād araruṇah pibātaḥ (TB. *°thah*) RV. MS. TB.

§21. But in the next two the *th* form is evidently prior; while in most of the rest here listed there is little clear evidence supporting either one: *citrebhīr abhruir upa tiṣṭhatho* (MS. *°to*) *raṇam* RV.† MS. Followed by: *dyāñ varṣayatho* (MS. *°to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV. MS. The p.p. of MS. has *°thah*. See §§337.

ghṛtēna dyāvāprthivī prarṇuṣāthām (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *prarṇuṣāthām*; MS. MŚ.† *prarṇuṣāthām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.; cf. *vapayā* etc. Kauś.; and see Conc. under *svarga* (**geṣa*, *svarga*) *loke(-na) prarṇuṣāthām* etc. (only MS. **tām*; VS. VSK. TS. KSA.† [which reads *samprarṇuṣāthām*] ŚB. TB. Vait. **thām*).

yā (AV. TS. *yāv*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS.† **tho*, AV. *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS.† **tah*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS. *viśvavyādhipā*) *babhūvathuḥ* (TS.† **tuḥ*) KS. TS.

yā rājānā (TS. **nān*) *saratham yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS. MS. KS. *lat satyam yad vīram bibhṛthuh* (MŚ.† **taḥ*); and, in same passage:

vīram janayisyathaḥ (MŚ. **taḥ*); and:

te mat prātaḥ prajanayisyethe (MŚ. **te*), *te mā prajāte prajanayisyathaḥ* (MŚ. **taḥ*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ. **yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS. **thām*) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ. And, in same stanza:

dīvi (KS. *diva*) *jyotiḥ ajaram* (MS. KS. *ullamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS. KS.† **thām*), same texts. *abhūtām* is anomalous; see §§56, 337.

kāmam duhātām iha śakvaribhiḥ AV.: *rāṣṭram duhātām iha revatibhiḥ* TB. Here, tho the context in AV. requires a 3d person verb, most mss. read **thām* like TB. (but Ppp. **tām*).

§22. For lack of a better place we append here another curious variant between *t* and *th* in verbal endings, which concerns neither duals nor 2d plurals:

abhīramyatām (MŚ. S. 20 **thām*) MŚ. ŚG. YDh. BṛhPDh. So according to Conc. the mss. of MŚ. as recorded by Knauer; since it occurs in the unpublished part of MŚ. it is impossible to verify it, but it is presumably a mistake in copying by either an Indian scribe or a western scholar. The form *abhīramyatām* is, of course, 3dsingular passive imperative.

Phonetic variants: interchange between a and u before v

§23. From out of the confusion of shifting vowel tradition in the variants, to be treated in our volume on Phonetics, one phase tends to unsettle the exact meaning of a certain group of verb changes. Namely, in quite a number of cases *u* interchanges with *a* before *v*, so that the resulting forms may be judged to be either phonetic or morphological, in all probability a mixture of both. Thus, in

abhi pra nonuvur (SV. *nonavur*) *giraḥ* RV. SV.

nonuvur is intensive perfect (Whitney, Gr. § 1018a), while *nonavur* is in-

tensive augmentless imperfect (*ibid.* §1015). The SV. reading is surely secondary, and phonetic at least in part, rather than truly morphological. Considerations of this sort are in order in the following list, in which the frequent interchange between stems *bhava-* and *bhuva-* strikes the eye; note particularly the persistent choice of *bhuva-* on the part of SV in the first six examples (cf. contrariwise SV. *nonarur* above). The Black YV. texts also show a preference for *u* as against *a*, as we shall show in the Phonetics volume.

samīślo aruḥ bhava (SV. *bhuvah*) . . . *dhenubhiḥ* RV. SV.

uta trūtā śivo bhavā (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

Kauś.

tatra pāśābhavat (SV. *°bhuvat*) *śucā* RV. SV. KS.

nemiś cakram irābhavat (SV. MS. *°bhuvat*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

yat soma-soma ābhavaḥ (SV. *ābhuvah*) RV. SV.

yad dūre sann ihābhavaḥ (SV. *°bhuvah*) RV. SV. MŚ. N.

sampriyah (TA. *°yam prajāyā*) *pakubhīr bhuva* (TB. TA. *bhuvat*) MS. TB. TA. ApŚ.

asapatnā (RV. **°nah*) *kilābhuvam* (ApMB. *°bhavam*) RV. (bis) ApMB.

yatra (SV. *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV.

taśmai devā adhi bruvan (VS. TS. *bravan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

taśmai somo adhi bravat (KS. *bruvat*) RV. AV. KS.

pra bravāma (MS. *bruvāma*, v.l. *bra°*) *śaradaḥ kalam* VS. MS. TA. ApMB. HG. MG.

tad aham nīkruve (ŚŚ. *nīkruve*) *tubhyam* AB. ŚŚ.

upa śravat (MS. *bruvat*, p.p. *śravat*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV. MŚ.

An interchange like: *tam ahve* (SV. *u huve* = *u hve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV., may be suspected of being a similar phonetic variant across the faint pronunciation of *h*.

Phonetic variants: loss of t (d) as first of a group of three consonants

§24. In a small group attention is arrested by the interchange between *āt* (*ād*) and *ā* before two consonants, in connexion with which the *t* (*d*) makes three consonants. There are three such cases each before *d* and before *z*:

agnir dād (TS. *dā*) *draviṇam vīrapeshāḥ* RV. TS. P. p. of TS *dāh*; this form occurs several times in the context, and no doubt flitted thru the mind of the compiler. But a 2d person form is most bizarre, since a nominative subject (*agnir*) immediately precedes; despite Keith's attempt to explain it (TS. 162, n. 4), we believe the variant is essentially phonetic. Cf. the next.

yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (KS. *tiṣṭhād*) *draviṇeha dhattāt* RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. N. P. p. of RV. *tiṣṭhāḥ*: 'bestow upon us wealth here when thou standest erect.' All texts have as next *pāda*, *yad vā kṣayo mātur asya upasthe*, showing up the extreme reprehensibility of the KS reading. Cf. prec., of which this is the reverse.
āprā (AV. *āprād*) *dyāvāprthivī antarikṣam* RV. AV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AA. TA.

Here both forms are 3d person; AV. has the later form *āprād* for *āprās*. *tān ādityān anu madā* (MS. *madāt*) *evastaye* RV. MS. P. p. of MS. *mada*; *madāt* may be a mere corruption; see §315.
bodhā stotre (MS. *bodhāt stotair*) *vayo dadhat* (ApS. *vayovṛdhah*) RV. SV. MS. ApS. In MS. part of a different stanza; but a v. l. *bodhā* is recorded.

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB.; *adharo vadāṣu vadā svāhā* HG. (corrupt; see §153); cf. *adho vadādharo vada* HG.

Phonetic variants; presence or absence of visarga at the end of words, mostly at the end of pādas

§25. In a number of cases verbal variations depend entirely or in part upon the presence or absence of *visarga* (*h*), especially at the end of a *pāda*. As the sound was pronounced faintly (not, as in modern Hindu pronunciation, as *h* followed by a vowel), it is quite possible that some of these interchanges are purely phonetic; it would doubtless be going too far to say that they all are. Thus (§158, end) TS. 3. 5. 10. 1 has the anomalous *yodhi* for *yodhiḥ* of other texts at the end of a stanza (Whitney, *Gr.* §839); if this is the only occurrence of *yodhi*, we might cancel it from our grammars and lexicons. Cf. Keith's note, *HOS.* 28. 286, n. 1. The total of such correspondences is not small; those which concern verb forms are supported by others, cf. *pibāt somam mamadad* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayah*), AV. AŚ. ŚŚ., §137, where it occurs in noun forms.

pra-pra yajñapatiḥ tira (TA *tirah*; but Poona ed. *tira*) AV. VS. TS. MS.

KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApS. See §156 for this and the next three.

sūryasya tapas tapa (MS. MŚ. *tapah*) MS. TA. ApS. MŚ.

ni dūrahavase vaha (ŚŚ. *vahah*) AV. ŚŚ.

viśvasmāt (TA. *divo vi*?) *śim aghāyata uruṣya* (TA. *uruṣyah*) RV. TA.

tāv imā upa sarpataḥ SV. JB.: *emām anu sarpata* MS. See §116.

agne vittād dhavīṣo yad yajāma (TB. *amah*) RV. TB. See §124, where also, but in the interior of the passage, *dhūrvāma*: *dhūrvāmas*, in the item *taṁ dhūrva* etc.

anyarrutasya (TA. *anyad vṛa*²) *śāścīma* (TA. °*maḥ*; RV. *śakṛe*) RV, VS, MS, ŚB. TA. (corrupt.) For this and the next four items see §202, e.

prati bhāgam na dūhīma (SV. °*maḥ*) RV, AV, SV, VS, N.

vīratāḥ smaḥ (ŚG. *sma bhoḥ*) ŚG, PG.

abhiratāḥ smaḥ (YDh. *sma ha*) ViDh. YDh. BṛhPDh.

tasmin vajam upahūtās tava smaḥ (MŚ. *sma*) TB, MŚ.

tau saha (VS. ŚB. *tā ubhau*) *caturāḥ padāḥ sam prasārayāvahai* (VS. ŚB. °*yāva*, MŚ. °*yāvah*) VS, TS, MS, KSA, ŚB, ApŚ.

vīśvāḥ pīnathāḥ (TB. °*tha*) *evasarasya dhenāḥ* RV, MS, TB. (comm. Bibl. Ind. ed. °*thah*, but Poona ed. °*tha*). Vacillation of sandhi before *s* + cons.; one ms. of MS. °*tha*.

Phonetic variants: interchange between e and ai

§26. Especially at the end of *pādas*, but also elsewhere, *e* and *ai* frequently interchange. This, as regards the verb, concerns for the most part interchange between the (indicative or subjunctive) endings *mahe*, *rahe*, and the subjunctive *mahai*, *vahai*; see §§118, 124, 253. To illustrate the same phonetic change outside of the verb, we may quote one of many changes between the pronouns *asme* and *asmāi*:

supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartanāsmē (AV. *kartam asmāi*; VSK. *kartam asme*) AV, VS, VSK, MS.

In the item *brahmāham antaram kṛve* (KŚ. *karare*) AV, KŚ., the Cone. suggests the more proper *kararai* for KŚ.

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ. °*mahai*; MŚ. *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ, ŚŚ, Vait. ApŚ, MŚ, PG.

yam jīram aśnarāmahai (MS. °*he*) RV, AV, VS, TS, MS, KS.

devān yajñīyān iha yān yajāmahai (TS. *havāmāhe*) TS, MS, KS.

rayāni yena vanāmahai (SV. °*he*) RV, SV.

kṛa tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuh, sacāvahe (MS. °*hai*, p.p. °*he*) *yad avṛkaṁ pūrī cit* RV, MS.

The same interchange occurs between *te* and *tai* as subjunctive endings; all the cases which occur are grouped in §253.

Phonetic interchanges concerning y in combination with other consonants

§27. For this theme as a whole see Bloomfield, *SBE.* 42, 418 ff., and the appropriate section of our volume on Phonetics. The Concordance presents the item:

bhākṣa āgataḥ TS.: *bhākṣaḥ pītaḥ* VSK.: *bhākṣo bhākṣyamāṇaḥ* (KS. *bhākṣa*²) VS, KS. So the single ms. of KS. (at that time unedited)

reads; but the now printed text quite properly emends to *bhakṣya-māṇaḥ*, matching VS. Similarly,

(*net tvā...*) *dadhṛṣ vidhakṣyan paryāṅkhayāte* (AV. *vidhakṣan parīākh-ayātai*) RV. AV.; *net tvā...dadhad vidhakṣyan paryāṅkhayātai* TS. 'Lest the bold one embrace thee (shake thee about) intending to burn thee', or the like. Many mss. of AV. read *vidhakṣyan*, which should be adopted. Cf. Whitney on AV. 18. 2. 58.

vācaspatē vāco vīryeṇa sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA. °*yakṣyase*; ŚŚ. °*yachase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. The aorist *yakṣase* may = the future *yakṣyase*; and *yachase* is certainly a phonetic corruption for *yakṣ(y)ase*.

On the other hand, the fuller *kṣy* is secondary in the following:

ā te yatante rathyo yathā prthak, śardhāṁśy agne ajarāṇi (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. *dhakṣataḥ* is aorist participle, gen. sing.; *dhakṣyase*, 'thou shalt be kindled', connected asyndetically with *yatante*, is obviously secondary. In fact, Caland on ApŚ. 3. 15. 5 takes it as a mere corruption of the other reading.

§28. Similarly the group *ṣy* is reduced, secondarily:

ā vṛṣcyantām (AV. *vṛṣcantām*) *aditaye durevāḥ* RV. AV. See §57.

In one instance *ṣy* is secondarily reduced to *ṣ*:

ratho na vājan śaniṣyann (SV. *śaniṣann*) *ayāsi* RV. SV. 'He hath come like a chariot about to win (that hath won) booty.' *śaniṣyan* is a common form, *śaniṣan* an aorist participle made for the occasion. Cf. Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* 281, and our §234, c.

In a remarkably persistent way the mss. read *arātsyam*, improper conditional, for *arātsam*, proper prophetic aorist, in the set formula:

tenārātsyam (ŚŚ. MŚ. GG. v. 1. °*rātsam*) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. GG.; cf. *tan me 'rādhi* (Kauś. *rāddham*) VS. TS. TA. Kauś.

CHAPTER II. THE VOICES

INTERCHANGE BETWEEN ACTIVE AND MIDDLE AND PASSIVE

§29. The number of these interchanges is large. They naturally fall into four rubrics. First, a not very large group of interchanges between active and middle, in which the middle has middle or passive value, and the active has transitive value, so that the two are definitely distinguished.

Second, a very much larger group, involving many roots of the language, in which the interchange between active and middle is without clearly perceptible difference; this is a part of the break-down of the distinction between the two voices which is noticeable from the earliest times. Our variants are grouped in two subdivisions, according as we find the interchange two or more times from a single root, or only once.

Third, interchange between active and passive constructions, as part of a growing movement towards passive forms of expression, which becomes far more pronounced in later Sanskrit.

Fourth, interchanges between middle and passive, a small group in which the middle has passive meaning and is therefore equivalent to the passive form.

1. Transfusions between active and middle psychology, or interchanges between active and middle in their true and original meanings

§30. The primary distinction between active and middle as vehicles of transitive and reflexive (or more broadly, sphere-of-the-subject) function, well named by the Hindu grammarians *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*, comes to the fore in not a few passages which alternate active and middle forms with more or less material and clear change of meaning; and, we may add, by no means always so that the active passage may be transfused directly into the middle passage. These cases are parallel or analogous to the similar list of variant active and passive constructions, treated below. They are, moreover, flanked by a few others which offer occasion for a quasi-variant use of active and middle, tho they are not true variants of one another, but merely passages derived from similar spheres of conception in which active and

middle each are properly differentiated in accordance with the total sense of the passage.

apriyaḥ prati muñcatām AV. 'let the enemy fasten on himself'; *apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś.† *muñcatam*) AV. Kauś. 'fasten thou (ye two) that on the enemy.'

niṣkam īva prati muñcata (and, °*tām*) AV. (both). In different verses: 'fasten ye on (others) like a necklace', or, 'let him fasten on himself' etc.

ya im raḥanta āśubhiḥ RV. 'who travel (transport themselves) with swift horses'; *yadī vahanty āśavaḥ* SV. 'if swift horses transport (him)'. Cf. §67, where the two voices of *vah* are found without difference of meaning.

yad vo 'buddhaḥ (VSK. °*ah*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK. *jaghānaitad*) *idam vas tac chundhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB. 'whatever of yours the impure have (has) polluted, that do I here cleanse for you'; *yad abuddhaḥ parājaghān tad va etena chundhantām* KS. 'whatsoever the impure has polluted, as to that for you thru this let them purify themselves (become pure)', or, perhaps, 'let them (indefinite) purify that for you thru this'; cf. below, §71, to which the KS. version belongs if *chundhantām* has active meaning; *yad vo 'buddha ālebhe tañ chundhadhvam* MS. 'what of yours an impure one has handled, do ye purify that for yourselves (or, do ye become pure as to that).'

yat te krūrāṃ . . . tat te śudhyatu (TS. ApŚ. *tat ta etena chundhatām*; MS. *tad etena chundhasva*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. See prec., and cf. §§71, 82, 338 end.

sa viśvā prati cākṣpe AV. 'he hath shaped himself into all things'; *sa viśvaṃ prati cākṣpat* AŚ. ŚŚ. 'he hath shaped (or, shall shape) the universe.'

ito mukṣiṃyā nāmutaḥ (ApŚ. *mā pateḥ*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *preto muñcāmi* (AG. ŚG. SMB. MG. *muñcātu*, PG.† *muñcatu*, ApMB. *muñcāti*) *nāmutaḥ* (ŚG. MG. SMB.† *nāmutaḥ*, PG. *mā pateḥ*) RV. AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG.: cf. *mṛtyor mukṣiṃyā māmṛtāt* (MŚ. *mā patyuh*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TAA. Vait. LŚ. MŚ. N. See §§104a, 312.

The liturgical series, *vācam* (etc.) *te chundhāmi*, VS. 6. 14, 'I purify thy voice' etc., is paralleled by a corresponding list showing true reflexive value, *mukham chundhasva* etc. Kauś. 44. 19, 'purify thy mouth' etc.

āpo devīḥ chundhata mā . . . devayajyāyāi MS.: *daivayāya karmaṇe chundhadhvaṃ devayajyāyāi* VS. ŚB.: *chundhadhvaṃ daivayāya karmaṇe* (TS. TB. add *devayajyāyāi*) TS. MS. TB. ApŚ.

yad ahañt (also, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA.: *yad ahañā* (and, *rātryañ*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA. MahānU. 'What evil is done (I have done) by day (night).' *kurute* has passive force.

agne dakṣaiḥ puniḥi naḥ (TB. *mā*; MS. *puniṃmahe*) RV. MS. TB. 'Purify us'; '(may) we become pure.' And similarly:

brahma tena puniḥi naḥ (LŚ. *mā*; VS. KS. *punātu mā*; MS. TB. *puniṃmahe*) RV. VS. KS. MS. TB. LŚ.: *idaṃ brahma puniṃmahe* TB.

evam iām (ApMB. *tvam*) *garbham ā dāhe* (ApMB. *dhatsva*) RVKh. ApMB. MG. 'Thus set thou the embryo (in her)': 'thus set thou (addressing the woman) the embryo in thyself (receive the embryo).' See §302.

madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayisyāmi... JB.: *madhu janiṣye* (AV. *ṣiya*) AV. TS. TA. ŚŚ. 'I shall produce honey (for myself).'

ud dharṣantām maghavan rājinañi AV.: *ud dharṣaya maghavann* (AV. *satvanām*) *āyudhāni* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. 'Let strengths be aroused, O generous one' or, 'arouse the weapons, O generous one (or, the weapons of the warriors).'

trīṣṭhe nāke adhi vi śrayasva (and, *śrayainam*) AV. (both). 'Spread thou (him) out upon the third heaven.'

samnahye (KS. *ḥya*, 2d sing. act.) *sukṛtāya kam* TS. KS. TB ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.: *samnahyasvānṛtāya kam* AV. Only KS. has a transitive verb, 'gird on' (the things mentioned in the preceding *pādas*). For the others ('I gird myself', 'gird thyself'), see §308 end.

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ. *abadhata*) ŚB. ŚŚ. The subject in ŚB. is a king; the active form goes with the causative: 'he caused a sacrificial horse to be bound', i.e. caused the *akṛamedha* to be performed. In ŚŚ. the subject is the priests: 'they bound a sacrificial horse'.

§31. We group separately such interchanges of voice in *Participles*, since they constitute, to some extent certainly, a special problem. Renou has shown (*Valeur du parfait* 121-38) that voice in the participles frequently seems not to run parallel to that in finite forms.

parāsutṛpaḥ koṣucataḥ śṛṇiḥi AV. 'destroy the fiercely burning (demons) that delight in (taking) life'; *parāsutṛpo abhi koṣucānaḥ* (sc. *śṛṇiḥi*) RV. 'destroy (the demons) that delight in (taking) life, burning fiercely against them.' Cf. Renou 128.

viśvasmād iṣataḥ (MS. *iṣamāṇaḥ*)... *paridhiḥ* TS. MS. KS. 'the fence from every attacker'; the MS. reading (somewhat uncertain, see editor's note, l. 1. 12; 7. 10) seems to mean 'fleeing from every attack.'

jajñānaḥ (SV. *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaiḥ* RV. SV. In RV, *jajñānaḥ* is absolute, 'when born'; in SV. *janayan* lamely governs *sūryam*. The interchange is of the loosest kind.

§32. In one case active and middle are used in precisely the reverse of the function to be expected:

taśmai tvān āna pra pyāya ApMB. 'do thou, O breast, swell for him';
taśmai ānaṁ pra pyāyasa HG. 'do thou swell out thy breast for him.' [But the middle seems justified, as referring to 'thy' breast.—G.M.B., approved by F. E.]

§33. There are also, as noted above, a few formulas, related in context, but not strictly variants of one another, which contrast the two voices according to the same standards, the middle being reflexive or at least intransitive, the active being transitive.

divo mātrayā varinā (VS. ŚB. *varinā*) *prathava* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.:
ṛṣayas teḍ prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā (VS. *varinā*)
prathantu VS. MS. KS. 'with the measure of heaven extend thyself in breadth'; 'the sages of yore . . . shall extend thee in breadth.'

ḍr̥ṇha prthivīm PB., and *prthivīm ḍr̥ṇha* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. JB. MG.
 'make firm the earth': *ḍr̥ṇhava prthivyām* VS. KS. ŚB. 'be firm upon earth.'

iṣe pinvasa, ūrje pinvasa VS. ŚB.: *iṣam pinva, ūrjam pinva* MG.
vācam me tvayi dadhāni; (response,) *vācam te mayi dadhe* KBU. And the same with many other nouns besides *vāc*, in a long litany. The father says: 'Let me place my speech (etc.) in thee.' The son replies: 'I take thy speech (etc.) in myself.'

2. *Interchange between active and middle in the same verb as part of the break-down of this distinction from earliest times*

§34. In the preceding cases the varying use of the voices depends, as a rule, on change of construction, or some imaginable difference of attitude towards the same passage. But the bulk of the interchanges between active and middle of the same root are in passages of identical construction, devoid of any appreciable difference; if there is a difference in meaning between the voices, it is certainly of the most tenuous kind, and while we would not rigorously deny such possibilities here and there, there seems no doubt that by and large they are signs of the almost complete practical erasure of this distinction towards which the language tends from the very beginning, from the RV. on.⁷

⁷ Renou, *passim*, shows that a verbal system is frequently made up with one tense of one voice and another tense of another, there being no difference of

§35. In his admirable *Wörterbuch*, Grassmann says (column 1070) under *yaj*, 'Das Medium fügt überall die bekannte reflexive Bedeutung hinzu.' BR, s.v. cite the scholiast to Pāp. 1. 3. 72, Vop. 23. 58 to the effect that the active of *yaj* is used of the priest, the middle of the sacrificing householder (*yajanti yājakaḥ*, *yajamāno yajate*). However, both BR. and Delbrück⁴ recognize that this distinction is not absolute. The *yaj* variants, below, show at any rate that it is not adhered to very closely in Vedic tradition. The twin of *yajati*, namely *juhōti*, which might be expected to be on all fours with *yajati*, shows scarcely, if ever, any such distinction, being generally active. This may be due to the fact that *juhōti* is conceived as the function of the *hotar*. The root *hū* 'call', produces only middle forms in the RV. when the present stem is *hava-*, whereas the other stems show both actives and middles. This is not the place to go into an elaborate investigation of the reason why *hava-* has no actives; the variants, at any rate, show in almost every instance active forms of the other stems interchanging with middle forms of *hava-*. In general, our variants are loftily on the other side of right and wrong; the total of this evanescent distinction has broken down, almost every root showing actives in interchange with middles.

§36. Occasionally attendant circumstances show which of the two voices is prior in a given variant. In one case AV. gives us two forms of what is essentially the same pāda: *viṣe viṣam aprkthāḥ* 7. 88. 1, . . . *apṛāḥ api* 10. 4. 26b: 'in poison thou hast (he has) mixed poison.' Here, in the first place, metrical considerations come in; 7. 88. 1 is prose, and the formula is made metrical in 10. 4. 26 by the addition of the 'patch-word' *api*. Aside from the question of meter, when a longer form of one voice is replaced by a shorter one of the other voice, which is then padded out by a patch-word, usually a pronoun or adverb, this latter form of the pāda invariably impresses one as secondary. Other cases are:

meaning represented in the voice distinction. Even in essentially the same pāda, active and middle may be equivalent as early as RV.: *ajasrepa śociṣṭ śolucac chuce* 6. 48. 3, *ajasrepa śociṣṭ śolucānaḥ* 7. 5. 4. The needs respectively of *yajati* and *triṣṭubh* are deferred to; see *RVRep.* 294, 531. Cf. Renou 121ff. (participles and voice).

⁴ *AltSyntax* 248; so also Renou 106, 110. Delbrück 241, observes that *ci* 'pile' (bricks of the altar) exhibits regularly the same distinction, the middle being used of the sacrificer, the active of the priest.

⁵ [In a charm against poison, especially that of snakes; there may be in the middle a suggestion of 'for thyself', the poison being magically directed back against its emitter. F.E.]

syonam patye (AV. *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛṇuṣva* (AV. *kṛṇu team*) RV. AV. SMB. ApMB. MG.N.

maruḍān pīlas tad ahaṁ grṇāmi (MS. *grṇe te*) TS. MS.: *maruḍān pītar uta tad grṇīmah* KS.

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MS. *yaje hi*) TS. MS.

nī no rajinī subhojasam yuvasta (TS. *yuveha*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ea no mayobhūh pīto āvīśasva (ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jørgensen] *pitar āvīśasva*, AŚ. *pitar āvīśaha*) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG. See §69.

hve nu (RV. VS. KS. MahānU. *hwayāmi*) *śakram puruhūtam indram* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.

taṁ manyeta (VIDh. *vai manyet*) *pīlaraṁ mālaraṁ ca* SaṁhitopaniṣadB. VāDh. VIDh.

Aside from such cases there are occasionally other indications as to priority which have been noted whenever they seemed sufficiently certain and not too obvious.

§37. We have arranged the interchanges between active and middle in two lists. In the first a given root interchanges twice or oftener; in the second only once. We have wished in this way to separate the verbs that are more habitually free in their choice of voice from those in which the interchange may be suspected of being either accidental or solecistic. Delbrück, *AltSyntax* 228ff., has collected considerable material for the use of the voices in Brāhmaṇa prose. We have added in parentheses (D.) the pages on which he comments on a large number of our roots.

§38. The following is an alphabetic list of all the roots which so interchange; those which are not treated by Delbrück—a rather large number—are distinguished by italics. The two denominatives *rājaya* 'demean oneself as king', and *sukratūya* 'have superior wisdom', are not listed.

<i>āś</i> 'obtain'	<i>kalp</i> (caus.) 'shape'
<i>arṣ</i> 'move'	<i>gam</i> 'go'
<i>as</i> 'throw'	<i>gar</i> 'praise'
<i>ās</i> 'sit'	<i>gup</i> 'protect'
<i>i + adhi</i> 'read'	<i>gai</i> 'sing'
<i>i + palā</i> 'flee'	<i>grabh</i> 'seize'
<i>īr</i> 'arouse'	<i>ghuṣ</i> 'sound'
<i>edh</i> 'prosper'	<i>cat</i> (caus.) 'drive off'
<i>kar</i> 'make'	<i>ci</i> 'observe'
<i>kar</i> 'praise'	<i>jan</i> 'beget'

ji 'conquer'	lubh 'desire'
jus 'enjoy'	nakṣ 'grow'
tan 'extend'	vac 'speak'
tar 'cross'	vad 'speak'
dah 'burn'	vadh 'slay'
dā 'give'	tan 'win'
ḍi 'shine'	vap 'throw'
ḍi 'fly'	vāraya 'ward off'
dikṣ 'consecrate'	vart 'turn'
dyut 'shine'	vardh 'grow'
dhars+ā 'dare'	vah 'carry'
dhā 'set'	raḥ 'ask a riddle'
dhāraya 'hold'	vid 'obtain' and 'perceive'
nam 'bend'	viś 'enter'
naś 'perish'	vyā 'envelop'
naś 'obtain'	hikṣ 'help'
nī 'lead'	śri 'set up'
nud 'expel'	śudh 'purify'
pac 'cook'	sac 'follow'
parc 'mix'	sad 'sit'
pū 'purify'	san 'be effective'
bandh 'bind'	sar (caus.) 'move'
bhāj 'share'	sarj 'loosen'
bhar 'bear'	sah 'be able'
bhū 'be'	see+ni 'be devoted to'
bhrāj 'shine'	stan 'thunder'
majj 'dive'	stu 'praise'
mad 'revel'	sthā 'stand'
man 'think'	sthāpaya 'place'
muc 'release'	snāpaya 'cause to bathe'
yaj 'revere'	svad 'taste'
yam 'hold'	svap 'sleep'
yu 'unite' and 'separate'	han 'slay'
rakṣ 'protect'	hā 'leave'
ram 'rest'	hi 'incite'
ram, rā 'give'	hu 'sacrifice'
ruh 'grow'	hū 'call'
rej 'tremble'	

Interchanges between active and middle which occur twice or oftener

§39. *āś* 'obtain' (D. 229)

viśvam āyur vy āśnavat (AV. ^{°vap}) AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. The AV. mss. (19. 55. 6) read *āśnavat*, which Whitney (Transl.) emends to *āśnavan*. Cf. the parallels with active, *viśvam āyur vy āśnutaḥ* and *āśnavat*, and on the other hand with middle, *dirgham āyur. . . and sarvam āyur. . .* in Cone. See §140.

viśvam id dhītam (MS. *dhītam*) *ānaśuḥ* (SV. *āśata*) RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ.

yena bravāṁsy ānaśuḥ (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

vy āśema (SV. VS. *āśemahi*) *devahitam yad āyuh* RV. SV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. NṛpU. NṛuU. MG. The active is usual with prepositions, and *vy āśema* obviously prior to ^{°mahi}; Delbrück, I. c.; Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* 278.

tendāmṛtatvam aśyām (KS. PB. *aśīya*) KS. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ.: *so 'mṛtatvam aśīya* (VSK. *aśyāt*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *tayāmṛtatvam* (and, *tair amṛ²*) *aśīya* PB.

tato mā draviṇam aśtu (AB. *āśta*) VS. AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See §130.

§40. *ir* 'arouse'

vācaspatē 'chīdrayā vācāchīdrayā juhvā divi devāvrddham (ŚŚ. erroneously *devā vrddhan*) *hotrām airayat* (KŚ. *airayant*, TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ. om.) ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. KŚ. See §248, end.

svayā tanvā tanvam airayat AV.: *svām yat tanūm tanvām airayata* MS. AA. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS. KSA.: *svāyām yat tanvāh* (TS. *tanuvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS. KŚ. But *airayata* is the reading of most mss. also in AV. 7. 3. 1; see Whitney.

aghāyānām ud irate (AŚ. ^{°tū}) AV. PB. AŚ. We put little faith in the Bihl. Ind. edition of AŚ.

tām naḥ pūṣaṇ chīvatāmām erayasva HG.: *tām pūṣaṇ* (AV. ^{°an}) *chīvatāmām erayasva* RV. AV. ApMB.: *śā naḥ pūṣā śīvatāmām eraya* PG.

§41. *kar* 'make' (D. 238)

ugram cettāram adhirājam akran (AV. *akrata*) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. *akrata* collides with the *trīṣṭubh* meter of the stanza as a whole, and Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 37. 264) reads *akran*.

dyumantaṁ ghoṣaṁ vijayāya kṛṇmahe (AV. *kṛṇmasi*) RV. AV.

agnau kariṣye kararai karavāṇi (with reply: *kriyātām kuruṣva kuru*) AG. *agnau karaṇām kariṣyāmi* MŚ.: *agnau kariṣyāmi* GG. BDh.: *agnau karavāṇi* ViDh. Cf. Stenzler's note on AG. 4. 7. 18, Transl.

syonam patye (AV. *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛṇuṣva* (AV. *kṛṇu tvam*) RV. AV. SMB. ApMB. MG. N. Besides the patch-word (cf. §36),

AV is marked as secondary by dissyllabic *syonam* (the others, archaically, *sionam*).

kuru AG. GG. ViDh.: *kurusva* AG. YDh. AuSDh. BṛhPDh.

kuruta MS. MŚ. LŚ. ŚG. Kauś. GG. KhG. PG. HG.: *om kuruta* ŚŚ. AG.

MG.: *kurudhcam* PG.

kṛṣiṇ subuṣyām ut kṛṣe (KS. *kṛdhī*) MS. KS. MŚ. See §165.

yajñapatalaye vasu vāryam āsaṁskaraṣe ŚŚ.: *yajñapatalaye vāryam ā svas kaḥ* MS.: *yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar āsmai* TA.

Participles (cf. §31):

punaḥ kṛtvānā (KS. *kṛtvantā*) *pitarā yuvānā* VS. KS. ŚB.: *punaḥ kṛtvantāḥ pitaro yuvānāḥ* MS.: *punaḥ kṛtvāṇe teḍ pitarāṁ yuvānam* TS.

§41a. *gam* 'go'

juṣṭe juṣṭiṇ te gameyam (ŚŚ. °*ya*; TS. 'śīya) TS. KS. ŚŚ. LŚ.

nāpa vṛhjadī na gamāto antam AV.: *nāvapṛjyādī na gamāte antam* TB.

§42. *gup* 'protect'

taḍ gopāyala (KS. °*yadhvam*) KS. ApŚ.

tan me gopāya (Kauś. °*yasva*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

tan gopāya (KS. ŚG. °*yasva*) KS. AG. ŚG. ApMB.: *tān gopāyasva* TA.

asvapnaḥ ca mānavadrāṇaḥ collarato gopāyetām (KS. MG. *ca dakṣiṇato gopāyatām*) KS. PG. MG.: *asvapnaḥ ca tvānavadrāṇaḥ ca rakṣatām* AV. See also Conc. under *gopāyaṇī* *ca*, *jāgrīṣi* *ca*, *dīdiviṣi* *ca*, and *gopāyamānam*. *gopāyatām* is 3d dual impv. act., rather than 3d sing. impv. mid.

§43. *grah* (*grabh*) 'seize' (D. 240)

tan ātman (MS. KS. *ātmani*) *pari grhṇīmahe vayam* (MS. *grhṇīmaseṭha*) TS. MS. KS.

(*asyed indro madeṣe ā*) *grābham grbhṇīta* (SV. *grbhṇāti*) *sānasim* RV. SV.

§44. *jan* 'beget'

suroyā (MS. KS. *surāyā*) *mūtrāḥ janayanta* (KS.† TB. °*ti*) *retāḥ* VS.† MS. KS. TB.

hṛdā matiḥ janaye (VS. KS. TB. °*ya*) *cārum agnaye* RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

dyāvāpṛthivyor ahaṁ devayajjayobhayor lokayor ṛdhyāsam (KS.* *devaya-jyayā prajāniṣeyam prajāyā paśubhiḥ*; KS.* MŚ. *devayajjayā prajāniṣiya prajāyā paśubhiḥ*) KS. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. See §175.

§45. *juṣ* 'enjoy' (D. 229)

sa no nedīṣṭham (TS. MS. °*thā*, VS. ŚB. *viśvāni*) *havanāni joṣat* (TS. *joṣate*; MS. *havanā jujoṣa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. On perfect active and present middle cf. Renou 14, 144ff.

†viprā (SV. viprāya) gāham gāyata yaj jujoṣatī (AA. *jat; SV. yam jujoṣate) SV. AA. ŚŚ.

§46. tan 'extend' (D. 242)

bṛhaspatir yajñam imam tanotu VS. ŚB. LŚ.; bṛhaspatir tanutām imam nah TS. TB.

yā akrntann avayan yā atannata (AV. yās ca tannire) AV. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.; yā akrntan yā atannan MG.—MG. is obviously secondary, and may perhaps be a case of purely external form-assimilation: atannan for atannata to match akrntan.

gunakta śrā vi yugā tanudhvum (AV. TS. MS. KS. tanota) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§47. tar 'cross'

pra candramās tirate (TS.† *ti; AV.† *mas tirase) dirgham āyuh RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N.

†suvīrābhīs tirate vājabharmabhiḥ (SV. TS. taratī vājakarmabhiḥ) RV. SV. TS. KS. See §197.

§48. dā 'give' (D. 242)

iṣam ūrjam aham ita ādam (TS. ApŚ. adade; MS. KS. MŚ. ādi) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. VS. comm. understands ādam as from ad 'eat', but the accent shows that it is from ā + dā 'take'. The active of ā + dā is rare or anomalous; cf. Delbrück.

na me tad (ApŚ. ma idam) upadambhiṣar dhṛṣir (ApŚ. *bhiṣag ṛṣir [once, erroneously, udambhiṣ?]) brahmā yad dadau (ApŚ. dade) MS. ApŚ.

§49. dī 'shine' (only in participles; cf. §31)

ajasreṇa bhānunā dīdyatam (TS. dīdyānam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vīśā āśā dīdyāno (MS. KS. dīdyad) vi bhāhī VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

The meter favors dīdyāno.

§49a. dhā 'set' (D. 243; cf. also Grassmann s.v.)

āṅgirasām tvā devānām (ApŚ. devānām vratapate; Kauś. devānām ādityānām) vratena dadhe (ApŚ. dadhāmi) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: bhṛgūṇām tvāṅgirasām (ApŚ. tvā devānām) vratena dadhāmi TB. ApŚ. And similarly under ādityānām tvā devānām, indrasya tvā etc., manos tvā etc., see Conc.

asmin rāstra indriyam dadhāmi AB.: asmin rāstre śriyam dadhe SMB.

parīdam vāso adhīhāḥ (HG. adhīhāḥ, ApMB. adhī dhā) vastaye AV.

HG. ApMB. The readings of HG. ApMB. are obviously inferior; the sense requires a middle ('thou hast put this garment round thyself unto well-being').

nī me dhehī nī te dadhe (VSK. dadhau) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ.

The middle is here proper; VSK. assimilates the voice to that of dhehī.

annādayānnapatyāyā dadhat Kauś.: *annādam annādayāyādadhe* (KS. *annādayāyānnapatyāyādadhe*) TS. KS.: *annādam agnim annapatyāyādadhe* MS.: *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ.: *agnim annādam annādayāyādadhe* VS.

garbham dadhāthām te vām uham dade TB. ApŚ.: *reto dhātām pustyai prajananam* MŚ.

pañcabhir dhātā vi dadhā (MS. p.p. *dadhe*, TS. *dadhāt*) *idam yat* (MS. om. *yat*) TS. MS. KS. Uncertain, because KS. must, and MS. may (contrary to its p.p.), intend *dadhau*, like TS.

vāk tvā samudra upadadhātu (ApŚ. °*dhe*)...KS. ApŚ. Cf. §139.

§50. *nam* 'bend'

sam ākālir namāmasi (MS. *anaṣṣata*, 3 pl. mid.) RVKh. AV. MS.

tasmai riśuh svayam eṣā namānte (TB. °*t*) RV. TB. AB.

sam bāhubhyām dhamati (AV. *bharati*, TS. TA. *namati*, KS. *nomate*, MS. °*bhyām adhamat*) *sam patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

§51. *nī* 'lead' (D. 244)

agnis te 'gram nayatu TS.: *agnis te agram nayatām* MŚ.

samudrasya tvākṣityā un nayāmi VS. ŚB.: *samudrasya vo 'kṣityā un naye* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The VS. ŚB. reading simulates triṣṭubh meter; the passage is really prose.

devasya tvā sarituh prasave 'keiner bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām upa nayāmy asau' (HG. *naye* 'sau') ŚG. HG. And others; see Conc. *izām madantah pari gām nayadhvam* (AV. *nayōmah*) RV. AV. MG.

§52. *nud* 'expel' (D. 244)

nih kravyādam nudāmasi (MS. *nudasvo*) AV. MS.

agnis tān asmāt pra nunottu lokāi MŚ.: *agnis tān* (VS. *tān*; AŚ. *tāl*) *lokāi pra nudāt* (AŚ. *nudāt*; SMB. *nudat*) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. SMB.: *agne tān asmāt pra nudasvo lokāi* ApŚ.

§53. *pac* 'cook' (D. 245)

ity apacah TB. ApŚ.: *ity apacathāḥ* MŚ.

varūtrayo janayas tvā...pacantūkhe TS.: *varūtrī* (and, *varu*°) *tvā...pacatām ukhe* MŚ.: *janayas tvā...pacantūkhe* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§54. *bandh* 'bind' (D. 245)

mītrax tvā padī badhnātu (VS. ŚB. *badhnātām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ. *māha*°; TS. ApMB*. *yam abadhnāta*) *savitā suśevah* (AV. °*vah*; TS. ApMB*. *suketaḥ*) RV. AV. TS. ApMB. (his) KŚ.

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ. *abadhnata*) ŚB. ŚŚ.: on this see §30, end.

§55. *bhar* 'bear' (D. 230)

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharāntam (MŚ. **retām*, 3 du. impv. mid.) TB.

ApŚ. MŚ. (In TB. ApŚ. *sambhara*—*etam*.)

(*ud u tva viśve devā*) *agne bharantu* (MS. also *bharanta*) *cittibhiḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §156.

§56. *bhū* 'be, become'

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ. **yār*) *abhūtām* (MS. **tām*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.—MS. (2 du. mid.) is probably only an error for 3 du. act. **tām*, mechanically influenced by the parallel form *arobhethām*; see §§337 and 21.

yathāgnir akṣito 'nupadasta evam mahyam pitre 'kṣito 'nupadasta (HG. **laḥ*) *evadhā bhava* (HG. *bharatām*) ApMB, HG. And the same with *yathā vāyur*, . . , *yathādityo*, . . . See §329.

§57. *bhrāj* 'shine'

sa yathā team bhrājatā bhrājo 'sy evāham bhrājatā bhrājyāsam AV.: *sa yathā team bhrājyā bhrājasa evam aham bhrājyā bhrājiṣya* MS.

mahi bhrājante (TS. MS. KS. **ty*) *arcayo vibhāvaso* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. On the evidence of RV. (see Graessmann) the middle present is prior to the active. See also Whitney, *Roots* s.v., and Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 309.

§58. *mad* 'revel'

hotā yakṣad āvinau . . . somānām pibatu madantām vyantu MS.: . . . *vyantu pibantu madantu* (form-assimilation) AŚ. The KS. parallel lacks any form of *mad*.

pibantu madantu (MS. **tām*) *vyantu* (TB. *viyantu somam*) VS. MS. TB. Cf. prec.

yatrā (TA. *yatra*) *suhārdah sukṛto madanti* (TA. **te*) AV. TA.

§59. *muc* 'release' (D. 247)

yena sūryam tamaso nir amoci (TA. *mumoca*) MS. TA. *amoci* must be interpreted as 3d person middle, not passive.

Participles (cf. §31):

pramuñcamānā (AV. **canto*) *bhuvanasya retah* AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§60. *yaj* 'revere' (D. 248); see §35 above

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (KS. TS. TB. **yāt*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB.; *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS. KS. See §266.

agne devānām ava hotā iyakṣva (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ.: *ava devānām yaja heḍo agne* (KS. *yaje hedyāni*; MŚ. *yaje hedyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ. Cf. *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB. ApŚ.

sarvān apa yajāmasi Kauś.: *sarvān ava yajāmahe* KS†. TB. TAA. ApŚ.

asau yaja AŚ.: *asau yajate* LŚ.

mahyaṁ yajantu (AV, KS. °*ntām*) *mama yāni haryā* (AV, KS. *yāniṣṭā*)
RV. AV. TS. KS.

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ. *yaje hi*) TS. MŚ. See §36.

yasmād yoner udārithā (KS. °*tha*) *yaje* (MS. KS. *yajā*) *tam* RV. VS.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§61. *yam* 'hold' (D. 248)

yachantām pañca VS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *yochantu pañca* MS.: *yachantu*
tvā pañca KS.

gharmasyaikaḥ savitaikāṁ ni yachati (MS. KS. °*te*; PG. °*tu*) TS. MS. KS.
PG.

§62. *yu* 'separate' and 'unite' (D. 249)

ato nō 'nyat pitaro mā yajā (HG. *yūdheam*) ApŚ. MŚ. HG.: *mā vo*
(AŚ. *nō*) 'to 'nyat pitaro yoyavata (AŚ. *yūṅgdheam*) AŚ. Kauś.

nī nō rayīm subhojasam yuvasva (TS. *yuvaha*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf.
Delbrück, l. c., and §36 above.

§63. *rakṣ* 'protect' (D. 250)

agne haryam rakṣasva (VS. ŚB. *rakṣa*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.
MŚ.

viṣṇo haryam rakṣasva (VS. ŚB. *rakṣa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.
MŚ.

vratam rakṣanti viśvāhā AV.: *vratā rakṣante viśvāhā* RV. The AV.
reading is in every way secondary, cf. the formulas *vratā rakṣante*. .
in Conc.

§64. *vad* 'speak' (D. 252)

achāvedka vadasva (MŚ. *vada*) AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *achāvedka vadava yat te*
vādyam AB. KB. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.

avapatanīr avadan RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *avayatiḥ sam avadanta* VSK.:
pippalyah samavadanta AV. Here the preposition *sam* is, of
course, concerned in the use of the middle, which might perhaps
better be placed in §30.

satyam vadiṣyāmi (TA.* *vadiṣye*) TA. (bis) TU. ŚG. MG.

§65. *var* (caus. *vāraya*) 'hold in, hold off' (D. 230)

antar evaṣmāṇam vārayadhvāt (MS. TB. *vārayatāt*, but most mss. and
p.p. of MS. °*dhvāt*) MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

varāṇo vārayātai AV.: *varāṇo vārayiṣyate* AV.: *varuṇo* (Poona ed.
varāṇo) *vārayāt* TA. See §171.

§66. *vart* 'turn' (D. 235)

ime jīṭā vī mīrtāi dvavartan (TA. *dvavartin!*) RV. AV. TA. AG. The
monstrous form is found in both edd. of TA., text and comm.;

comm. glosses by *āṣṭtāh*. It can only be felt as a wholly anomalous 3d plural impf. act.

rtendeya nivartaye (MŚ. °ya), *satyena parivartaye* (MŚ. °ya) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §116.

§67. *vaḥ* 'carry' (D. 253)

ta ā vahanti (MS. *tayāvahante*) *kavayah purastāt* TS. MS. TB.

jātaśvedo vahemaṁ (ŚŚ. *vahavainam*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* (TA. *lokāḥ*) TA. ŚŚ. The reading of ŚŚ. is obviously secondary.

ayasā havyam āhiṣe ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayā san* (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāḥ san*, and so ApMB. comm. explains; KS. *ayās san*; Kauś. *ayāsyam*) *havyam āhiṣe* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.: *ayā no yajñam vahāsi* KS. See §140.

§68. *vid* 'obtain' and 'perceive' (D. 253)

videya TS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ.: *videyam* KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *videya* TS. is in same passage as *videyam* ŚŚ.

brāhmaṇam adya videyam (VSK. °ya)... VS. VSK. ŚB.

tat puruṣāya (MahānU.* °sasya) *vidmahe* MS. KS. TA. MahānU.: *puruṣasya vidma sahasrākṣasya* TA. (immediately preceding the other form).

tasya vittāt (MS. *vitsva*) TS. MS. KS.: *etasya vittāt* VS. ŚB. 'Take note of that.'

mā jñātāraṁ mā pratiṣṭhām vidanta (AG.† *vindantu*) AV. AG.

§69. *viś* 'enter' (D. 253)

ny anyā arkam abhito viśiṣre (AV. 'viśanta; JB. *viviśyuh*) RV. AV. JB. ŚB. AA.

sa no mayobhūḥ pito āviśasva (ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jørgensen] *pitav āviśasva*; AŚ. *pitav āviśeḥ*; MŚ. *pitur āviśeḥ*) TS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG.: *sa naḥ pito* (!) *madhumān ā viśeḥ* Kauś.: *sa naḥ pito madhumān ā viśeḥ* KS. See §§139, 332; on perfect active and present middle, Renou 14, 144ff.

Participles (cf. §31):

viśo-viśaḥ pravivīśānsam imahe AV.: *viśasyām viśi pravivīśānsam* (KS.† *pravivīśānam*) *imahe* TS. MS. KS. See §273.

§70. *vyā* 'envelop' (D. 254)

tasmai devā amṛtāḥ (AV. °tam) *saṁ vyayanīdām* (AV. °ntu) AV. TS. MS. ApMB.

tās tvā devīr (SMB. MG. *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB. HG. °śa) *saṁ vyayantu* (PG. *vyayasva*) SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.: *tās tvā jarase saṁ vyayantu* AV. Stenzler, Transl. of PG. 1. 4. 13, takes PG. to be a mere corruption; at a pinch it could perhaps be rendered 'wrap

thyselves in these goddesses unto old age', with distinct middle force, belonging then with the preceding section.

§71. *śudh* 'purify, be pure'

yad vo 'kuddhāḥ parā jaghnur etc., see §30.

yat te krūrāḥ, . . . tat te kudyatu (TS. ApŚ. *tat ta etena kundhatām*; MS. *tad etena kundhasva*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. Here both verbs are middle in force; or, more strictly, *kudyatu* is properly a passive, made into an active intransitive by change from middle to active ending; see §§82, 30.

§72. *śri* 'set up' (D. 255)

vāk patanḡyā śīriye TS.: *vāk patanḡo aśīriyat* (KS. °*gā aśīrayuḥ*) AV. KS. See §219.

yā na ūrā uśatī vīrayāte (AV. °*ti*; ApMB. HG. *visrayātai*) RV. AV. ApMB. HG. See §253.

§73. *sad* 'sit' (D. 230)

tisro devīr barhīr eḍam sadantu (AV. °*tām*) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS.

saravati (AV. °*ñh*) *svapasah sadantu* (AV. °*tām*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.

§74. *śrj* 'loosen' (D. 255f.)

tēna mām indra satī śrja (MŚ. *śrjasva*) TS. TB. MŚ.

rāyas poṣeṇa satī śrja (MG. *śrjasva*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. SMB. MG. In this and the prec. *śrjasva* in the cadence is bad.

vi (MS. KS. *pra*) *parjanyaḥ* (RV. °*yam*, TS. °*yāḥ*) *śrjanti* (MS. KS. *śrjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV. TS. MS. KS.

pācamānasya tvā stomena . . . vīryeṇot śrje MS.: *pācamānena tvā stomena . . . vīryeṇa devas tvā savitot śrjatu* . . . TS.

§75. *stu* 'praise' (D. 257)

indravanta (AB. °*taḥ*) *stuta* (AB. *studhvam*) AB. GB. Vait.

stuta Vait. MŚ.: *om stuta* ŚŚ. ApŚ.: *studhvam* AŚ.: *om studhvam* AŚ.

indro vide tam u stuti (AA. *stuṣe*) AA. Mahānāmnyah. See §165.

§76. *sthā* 'stand' (D. 257)

śivo me saptaṛṣṇ (KS. MŚ. *sapta ṛṣṇ*) *upa tiṣṭhasva* (Vait. MŚ. *tiṣṭha*) TS. Vait. KS. MŚ.

yāvac ca sapta sindhavo vītaṣṭhire (TS. °*tasthuḥ*) TS. VS.: *yāvat sapta sindhavo vītaṣṭhire* AV.

yenaīṣa bhūtas tiṣṭhaty (MahānU. *bhūtais tiṣṭhate hy*) *antarātmā* TA. MahānU.

kṣultrṣṇḍbhyām tam yo gām vikṛntantam mādhasā bhikṣamāṇa upatiṣṭhate TB.: *kṣudhe yo gām vikṛntantam bhikṣamāṇa upatiṣṭhati* VS.

caus. *sthāpaya* 'place' (cf. D. 257)

ā mātaraḥ *sthāpayase jīgatnū* RV. AV.: *āsthāpayata mātaram jīgatnum* AV.

§77. *hu* 'sacrifice'

pra tve havīṅsi juhure (KS. *juhumas*) *samiddhe* (MS. *tve samiddhe juhure havīṅsi*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. But *juhure* may be passive, with *havīṅsi* as subject; so Grassmann.

indrāya devebhyo juhutā (ApŚ. *juṣatām*; MŚ. *juhutām*) *haviḥ svadhā* PB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§78. *hā* 'call' (D. 261)

huve nu (RV. VS. KS. MahānU. *hwayāmi*) *śakram puruhūtam indram* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.

taṁ sarasvantam avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*; KS. *johavīmi*) RVKh. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *sarasvantam avase johavīmi* RV. The AV. reading introduces a *jagati* pāda into an otherwise *triṣṭubh* stanza, while KS. is a bad *triṣṭubh* contaminated from the two other readings. (Delete reference to KS. 19. 14d in Conc. under *sarasvantam*, and add *bis* to this reference under the other.)

agnim (MahānU. *ugram*, AV. *ukthair*) *huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV. TA. MahānU. The AV. reading is metrically bad.

ṛtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The stanza is otherwise *triṣṭubh*.

prātaraṇitām bhagam ugram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. N. As in prec., *triṣṭubh* stanza.

prātaḥ somam uta rudraḥ huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. Here, on the contrary, the rest of the stanza is *jagati*, and AV. makes this pāda fit its context metrically.

havante vājasātaye RV.: *hureya vā°* RV. AV.: *huvema vā°* RV. SV. MS. KS.

§79. *Interchanges between active and middle which occur only once*

arṣe 'move' (D. 233): *marya iva yuvatibhīḥ sam arṣati* (AV. *iva yoṣadh sam arṣase*) RV. SV. AV. The AV. reading is bad in meter and sense.

as 'throw' (D. 237): *ayam yajamāno mṛdho nyasyatām* (AŚ. *vyasyatu*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

ās + upa 'revere' (cf. D. 233): *brahmaīd upāsvaitat* (MahānU. *upāsvaitat*) *tapah* TA. MahānU. But Poona ed. of TA. as MahānU., v. 1. *upāsvai°*. See §195.

i + adhi 'read' (D. 237): *adhīhi bhoḥ* AG. ŚG. GG. KhG. HG. GDh. ApDh. RVPrātiśākhya 15. 2: *adhīṣva bhoḥ* MDh. AuśDh

- i + palā 'flee': *palāyisyamāṇāya svāhā* TS.: *palāyisyate svāhā* KS. Participles.
- edh 'prosper' (D. 229): *athāsyai* (TS. MS. TB. °syā) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait. °tu; AŚ. LŚ. ejatu; ŚŚ. ejati) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.: *adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA.
- kar 'praise': *sactyor indraś carkṛṣa* (3d sing. pres. intensive mid.) ā RV.: *sadd va indraś carkṛṣad ā* SV. See Grassmann s. v. *kir*, and Oldenberg RVNoten 2. 325.
- kalp, caus. *kalpaya* 'shape' (cf. D. 234): *yathāvakam tanvan* (AV. °cah) *kalpayasva* (AV. VS. *kalpayāti*) RV. AV. VS.
- gar 'praise': *marutām pitar ula tad grṇimāh* KS.: *marutām pitas tad aham grṇāmi* (MS. *grṇe te*) TS. MS.
- gai 'sing' (D. 240): *rājānam saṁgāyuta* (PG. °gāyētām) ŚG. PG.
- ghuṣ 'sound': *devāṁrūtau deveṣv ā ghoṣethām* (VS. ŚB. *ghoṣalam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.
- cat, caus. 'drive off' (cf. D. 231): *ghoṣeṇāmīdānś cātayata* (PB. °mīdān cātayadhvam) PB. TB. ApŚ.
- ci 'observe': *cakṣuṣā nī cikṛate* (MS. °ti) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
- ji 'conquer' (D. 241): *ity amuṁ suhgrāmam ahan* (MŚ. *ajayathāh*, ŚB. *ajayat*) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
- dah 'burn' (D. 242): *ā te yatante rathyo yathāprthak, śardhānsy agne ajardāni* (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. See §§27, 250.
- di 'fly': *parṇatīr iva dīgati* (SV. °te) RV. SV.
- dikṣ 'consecrate' (D. 234): *agnir dikṣitah prthivī dikṣā sā mā dikṣā dikṣayatu* (JB. *dikṣeta*) *tayā dikṣayā dikṣe* JB. ApŚ. And others, see §160. The active is better; note the medio-passive *dikṣe* following in both texts.
- dyut 'shine': *sam sūryeṇa rocate* (SV. *didyuta*) RV. SV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA.: *sam sūryeṇa didyutad uladhīr nidhīh* VS.
- āhar, dhāraya 'hold': *soma* (MS. *somā*) *indro varuṇo mitro agnis te devā dharmadhṛto dharmam dhārayantu* (KS. °tām te °smai vācam suvan-tām) MS. KS.
- dharṣ 'dare': *nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate* (AA. *dadharṣa*; ŚŚ. *dadharṣayā*)... śavaḥ AV. AV. ŚŚ. 'He is not to be dared against; his might dares.' See Whitney on AV. 6. 33. 2 and Keith on AA. 5. 2. 3. 1. ŚŚ. seems to intend a perfect from caus., in sense of primary.
- naś 'perish': *alakṣmī me naśyatu* (MahānU. °ta) TA. MahānU.: cf. *alakṣmī me naśyatām*. ...RVKh. See under *bhaj*, below.
- naś 'attain': *madhuṣ pajñam nakṣati* (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīṇānaḥ* (AV. *prai*°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

pare 'mix': *viṣe viṣam aprkthāḥ* (and, *aprāg api*) AV. (both). See §36.

palāya 'flee': see *i + palā*.

pū 'purify' (D. 234, 245): *tat punīdhvam* (and, *punīdhvam ca*) *yad mama* ViDh.: *sarvam punatha me yadāḥ* BDh.: *sarvam punatha* (ViDh. *punīta*) *me pōpam* BDh. ViDh.

bhaj 'share' (D. 246): *śrī me bhajata* MahānU.: *śrīr me bhajatu* TA. Comm. on MahānU.: *lakṣmī mahyam bhajatu ity arthāḥ*. See *naś* 'perish', above.

majj 'dive' (D. 232): *upamañkṣyati syā* (ŚŚ. °*mañkṣye* 'ham) *salilasya madhye* ŚB. ŚŚ.: *nimañkṣye* 'ham *salilasya madhye* AB.

man 'think' (D. 234): *taṁ manyeta* (ViDh. *vai manyet*) *pitarāṁ mātaraṁ ca* SaṁhitopB. VāDh. ViDh. N.

ram 'rest' (D. 250): *iha rama* (SMB. *ramasva*) MS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ. SMB. HG.: *iha ramatām* VS. ŚB. HG. Note that HG. 1. 12. 2 has *rama* and *ramatām* side by side. VS. comm. *iha bhavān ramatām*.

rā (ram) 'give': *na pāpateāya rāsāya* (SV. *raṁsīyam*) RV. AV. SV. See §174.

rājaya (denom.) 'be king' (cf. D. 232): *adhirājo rājasu rājayātai* (TS. °*ti*, MS. *rājayate*) AV. TS. MS. See §117.

ruh 'grow': *vayā ivānu rohate* (KS. °*ti*) RV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *vayā ivānu rohate juṣanta yat* RV.

rej 'tremble': *arejellāṁ* (TB. *arejayalāṁ*) *rodasā pājasā girā* RV. TB. See §241.

lubbh 'desire' (D. 232): *yan me mātā pralulubhe* (ApMB. HG. °*lulobha*; ApŚ. °*mamāda*) ApŚ. ŚG. ApMB. HG. MDh.

vakṣ 'grow': *deva somaīṣa te lokas tasmīṁ chaṁ ca vakṣva pari ca vakṣva* (VSK. *lokaḥ pari ca vakṣi sam ca vakṣi*; ŚBK. *tasmīṁ chaṁ pari ca vakṣi sam ca vakṣi*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚBK. See §164.

vuc 'speak' (D. 251): *pra tad vocē* (TA. MahānU. *voce*) *amṛtāṁ nu* (AV. *amṛtasya*) *vidvān* AV. VS. TA. MahānU. But the form *voce* is highly questionable; see §174.

vadh 'slay' (D. 232): *indriyāṁ me vīryam mā nīr vadhiḥ* (MŚ. *vadhīṣ(a)*) TS. MŚ.

van 'win': *daitēyā hotāro* (TS. °*rā*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vanī°*) *pūrve* (KS. † *vanīṣan na etat*) RV. TS. KS. Cf. *daitā hotārah sanīṣan na etat* AV.

vap 'throw' (D. 252): *pratiprasthātāḥ savanīyān nīr vāpa* (MŚ. *vāpasta*) ApŚ. MŚ.

vardh 'grow' (D. 253): *avīrḍhat* (VSK. *avīrḍhata*) *puroḍāśena* (VSK. *puroḥ*?) VS. VSK. Cf. *avīrḍhanta* etc. in Conc.

- valh* 'ask a riddle': *etad brahmann upavalhāmasi* (AŚ. *apa*^o; LŚ. *upabali-hdmahe*) *tā* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.
- tikṣ* 'help': *indro yajtvane prṇate ca kikṣati* (AV. *grṇate ca śikṣate*) RV. AV. TB.
- sac* 'follow' (D. 230): *anyavratasya* (TA. *anyad vratasya*) *saścima* (RV. *saścire*, TA. *saścimaḥ*) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. Read *saścima* in TA. §262, c.
- san* 'be effective' (D. 233): *aryo nasanta saniṣanta* (SV.† *nas santu saniṣantu*) *no dhiyaḥ* RV. SV. See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 72.
- sar* 'move' (caus.): *tā ubhan* (TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. *tau saha*) *caturah padah som prāsārayāḥ* (TS. KSA. ApŚ. *°yāvahai*; MS. *°yāvah*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ.
- sah* 'be able': *pra sāḁgate pratimānāni bhūri* RV. AV.: *pra sāḁgati pratimānam prthivyāḥ* AV.
- sukratūya* 'have excellent wisdom' (denom.): *sartir yajñam pariyan sukratūyase* (KS. *°m*) RV. KS.
- sev* 'be devoted to': *gṛdhrāḥ suparyāḥ kuṇapam ni sevati* (TA.† *sevase*) MS. TA.
- stan* 'thunder' (D. 232): *pra te divo na stanayanti kuṣmāḥ* (MS. *°yanta kuṣmaḥ*) RV. TS. MS.
- śnd* 'bathe', caus. (D. 232): *prasnāpayanty ūrminam* RV.: *prasnāpayanta ūrmyaḥ* SV. Benfey, *Transl.* 270a, 'waves bathed' (soma). The SV. passage is thoroly secondary; its comm., as quoted by Benfey, suggests that *ūrmyaḥ* stands for acc. sing. *ūrim*, the subject being preempted by *wasārah*. But it may be taken as an additional, asyndetic subject: 'the fingers (and) the waves wash (soma).' Benfey's 'imperfect' is a slip for present.
- svad* 'taste' (D. 230): *havyā te svadanām* (MS. *svadan*, and once—erroneously?—*svadam*; KS. *asvadan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
- svap* 'sleep' (D. 236): *ūrdhvas tiṣṭhan mā divā svāpsīḥ* Kauś.: *mā divā suṣupthāḥ* (SMB. GG. HG. *svāpsīḥ*) ŚG. SMB. GG. PG. HG.: *mā suṣupthāḥ* ŚB. ApMB.: *divā mā svāpsīḥ* AG.
- han* 'slay' (D. 239): *jaghanān upa jigṇate* (MS. *°tu*; p.p. *°ti*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.
- hā* 'leave' (D. 234): *nī vo jāmayo jihatā* (ŚŚ. *jihatām*) *ny ajāmayāḥ* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
- hi* 'incite': *rtasya yonau* (RV. *yond*) *mahiṣā ahinvan* (RV. *ahēṣata*) RV. TS. KS. ApMB.

3. Interchange between active and passive

§80. Encroachment of passive construction upon active is a growing movement thru the history of Classical Sanskrit. It is already noticeable in the later Vedic texts, and indeed is not entirely absent in the earliest; see Delbrück, *AltSyntax* 268ff., who quotes many instances of passive construction where we should expect the active.

§81. The passive finite forms are originally medio-passive; their most conspicuous representatives, the present passive system, are specialized middles, and the remaining tenses, for the most part, are ordinary middles, not at all differentiated in form.¹⁰ Hence, occasionally, a present middle construction interchanges with an active construction in a manner comparable with the variants of the present rubric; see above, §80. In a considerable number of cases, moreover, the passive version uses a past passive participle, with or without copula, for which see §245ff.; and a few similar cases will be found in the rubric Perfect Passive Participles interchanging with Moods, §143f.

§82. There are one or two cases of a present passive form in *ya* appearing with active endings (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§761b, 774):

yathā team agne samidhā samidhyase (SMB.†^{ae}) SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.

But SMB. has a v. l. ^{ae}.

yat te krūram . . . tat te śudhyatu etc., see §71.

§83. In the following list, in which both versions contain finite verbs (or, in a very few cases at the end, active and passive participles), no attempt is made, as a rule, to establish priority for either active or passive construction. The examples are largely from ritual texts in which both constructions may be assumed to be familiar, and which offer no basis for relative chronology. In one instance, however, which involves RV., the active construction is clearly prior:

mahe cana teām adrivah, parā ſulkāya deydā RV. 'not would I, even for a high price, sell thee, O (Indra) to whom belong the press-stones!': *mahe ca na tvādrivah, parā ſulkāya diyase* SV., where *tvā* and *diyase* together make nonsense. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 278.

§84. On the other hand, in

ād id ghṛteṇa pṛthivī vy udyate (AV.† *pṛthivīm vy ādūh*) RV. AV. MS.

¹⁰ It is to be noted that the well-known 3d person in *i* (Whitney, *Grammar* § 842ff.), which is the only finite form outside of the present supposed to have exclusively passive function, is used at least once as a middle with active force, interchanging with a perfect active of the same meaning. See *pena śārpasā tanaso nir amocī* (*mumoca*), §59. Cf. further Neisser, *BB.* 30. 305, and the variant *d gharmo agnim rīyann asādi* etc., §84.

KS.: *ād it prthivī gṛtair vy udyate* TS.: cf. *gṛtena dyāvāprthivī vy undhī* (KS. *vyundan*) RV. KS.

the solitary active of AV. is clearly secondary, patterned after RV. 5. 83. 8.

Thus also in the following, the (medio-?) passive of RV. is superior to TA's active:

ā gharṃ agnim ṛtayann asādi (TA. *asādī*) RV. TA.: *ā gharṃ agniṃ amṛto na sādī* MS. We agree with Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 5. 43. 7, in considering the TA. variant 'meaningless' for the RV., against Neisser (*BB.* 30. 305) who finds it important and would interpret *asādi* as a middle; cf. our footnote 10 above, which shows that the middle interpretation of the word is *per se* quite possible.

§85. The remaining cases involve occasionally direct transmutations of one voice into the other, but for the most part the interrelations are of a looser kind, in which active in one version and passive in the other are not directly convertible.

rajaś harīṇīḥ śiśā (MS. *rajaś harīṇīḥ śiśā harīṇīḥ*), *yujō yuyante* (MS. *yujāntu*) *karmabhūḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

yat svapne annam aśnāmi AV.: *yad annam adyate naktam* (HG. *sāyam*) ApŚ. HG.

strṇanti (RV.* *strṇāta*, RV.* AV. *tistire*) *barhiṣ ānuṣak* RV. (all three) AV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. N. *tistire* is passive.

yenākā (ŚŚ. *yenā kām*; SMB. *yenākām*; PG. *yendkṣyān*) *abhyāpicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *abhyāpīcalam*, PG. **tām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. See §332. Subject is *Aśvins*, except in AV., where the verse is address to them too, but turned into passive construction with subject *akṣāh*.

varca ā dhehī me tanvam (KS. *dhāyī me tanūh*) AV. KS.

satyam ṛte 'dhāyī (TB. *dhāyī*, but Poona ed. *'dhāyī* here and in next; TS. KSA. *'dhām*) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

ṛtam satye 'dhāyī (TB., see *proc.*; TS. KSA. *'dhām*), same texts.

mayi dhāyī (MS. *dhehī*) *svātryam* MS. TB. TA.

abhiramantu bhavantaḥ ViDh.: *abhiramyaṭām* (MŚ. **thām*) MŚ. ŚG. YDh. BrhPDh.

gṛtena dyāvāprthivī pūryethām VS. ŚB.: *gṛtena dyāvāprthivī ā prṇethām* (MS. MŚ. *prṇa*; LŚ. *prṇāthām svāhā*) TS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

maiṣām kaṃ canoḥ chiṣaḥ TS. TB. ApŚ.: *maiṣām uc cheṣi kiṃ cana* AV.: *māmīṣām kaṃ canoḥ chiṣaḥ* RV. SV. VS.: *māmīṣām moci kaḥ cana* AV.

paramēṇa paśunā kṛiyase (MS. *kṛiyasa*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tasyās te sahasrapoṣaṇaṁ paśyantyāś carameṇa paśunā kṛiyāmi* TS.

pra tve havīṅṣi juhure (juhūmas) . . . , see §77. *juhure* either mid. or pass.

tat striyām anu śicyate (ŚG. *śiñcatu*) AV. ŚG.

saha dharmāṁ cara (GDh. *dharmāṁ caryatām*) GDh. NāradaDh.: *sahobhāu caratām dharmāṁ* MDh.

asmin goṣṭha upa prūci naḥ AV.: *asau goṣṭha prcyatām* RV. TB. LŚ.

The AV. is secondary in various ways; see Whitney on 9. 4. 23.

tan me 'rādhi (Kauś. *rādham*) VS. TS. TA. Kauś.: *tenārātsyam* (ŚŚ. MŚ. GG. °*rātsam*) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. GG. See §248.

dadato me mā kṛāyi (GB. Vait. *me mopadasaḥ*, MS. °*sat*) TS. MS. KS. GB. TB. Vait. ApŚ.

ajāny agnir hotā (ApŚ. *ajānn agnīḥ*) *pūrvāḥ pūrvobhyaḥ pavamānaḥ pāvukāś lucir* (ApŚ. *lucīḥ pāvaka*) Iḍyaḥ KS. ApŚ. Cf. Delbrück, *AltSyntax* 286.

§86. A couple of cases, finally, concern interchange of active and passive participles; as stated above, we shall deal later with the more numerous instances of interchange between participles and finite verbs:

tantum tanvan (KS. *talām*) *rajaso bhānum ane ihi* RV. TS. KS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. AG. HG.

harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣṭā (TB. °*atā*) *marutrah* RV. TB. N. *dhṛṣṭā* is an adverbial instrumental of the present participle.

4. Interchange between passive and middle

§87. This group exhibits interestingly a few cases in which the medio-passive value of *ātmanepada* forms, quite clear by themselves, is, as it were, glossed by corresponding passive forms. Thus, twice, the medio-passive *amukthāḥ* varies with *amoci*; or *bhakṣyamāṇaḥ* (*bhakṣamāṇaḥ*) with *bhaktāḥ*. Note Delbrück's remark on *amoci*, op. cit. 266, and, more generally, 263 ff. A few cases of this sort are unreliable on account of the phonetic uncertainty of *y* in combination with two other consonants, such as *vṛścantām* and *vṛścyanām*, the former of which may in reality be equal to *vṛścyanām*; cf. §§27, 28.

mā prṇan pūrtiā vi rādhiṣṭa (TS. *rādhi*) TS. MS. KS.

amoci (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB.

Followed by:

druhaḥ pāśān nirṛtyai codamoci TB. ApMB.: *druhaḥ pāśād grāhyāś*

codamukthāḥ AV. Cf. Delbrück, op. cit. 266. Both here and in the prec. Ppp. has *amoci*; but see §329.

sam bakhir aktam (VS. ŚB. *añktām*) *haviṣā ghr̥tena* AV. VS. ŚB.: *sam añktām ba° ha° ghr̥* TB. ApŚ. See §144.

vājino vājajilo vājam: *bhāgam avajighrata ni mṛjānāḥ* (KS. *bhāge nīmṛjālām*; TS. *bhāge ni mṛjādhvam*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *vājinau vājajitau vājam jitaḥ bṛhaspater bhūge nīmṛjyethām* MS. The last phrase means: 'Be ye (ye two) cleansed', or 'being cleansed' (mid. participle in VS. ŚB.), or 'let them be cleansed'. Only MS. has a definitely passive form; the rest have middles substantially in passive sense.

ā vṛścāntām (AV. *vṛścāntām*) *aditye durevāḥ* RV. AV. See §28.

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā pr̥nethām (MS. MŚ. *pr̥ṇa*; LŚ. *pr̥ṇāthām svāhā*) TS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī pūryethām* VS. ŚB. The contrast between *pr̥nethām* and *pūryethām* brings this variant in here; cf. §85.

svāhā marudbhīḥ (MS. MŚ. *°bhyāḥ*) *parīśrayasva* (VS. ŚB. *°śriyasva*) VS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. TA. KŚ.: *marudbhīḥ parīśriyasva* ŚB. 'Hail, be encompassed (encompass thyself) with (for) the Maruts.'

na karmaṇā līpyate pāpakena ŚB. TB. BṛhU. BDh. 'he is not stained by evil action': *na karma līpyate nare* VS. IśāU. 'action does not stick to a man.' The latter shows *līpyate* middle in form but almost transitive in meaning (governing *nare*).

Participles:

bhakṣo bhakṣyamāṇaḥ (KS. ms. *bhakṣa°*) VS. KS. Cf. *bhakṣaḥ pītaḥ* VSK.: *bhakṣa āgataḥ* TS. See §27.

ajāñānā (SV. *yā jāñā*) *pūtadakṣasā* RV. SV.

nīrttyoḥ parivividānam (TB. *parivittam*); and, *ārttyai parivittam* (TB. *parivividānam*) VS. TB. Exchange between the two equivalent participles.

[*saṃjīhānāya svāhā* TS. KSA. Conc. quotes *saṃjīhītāya* for KSA.]

CHAPTER III. THE MOODS

Observations on the scope and character of modal interchanges

§88. In the midst of the variations which concern the verb change of mood looms as the most constant and important. Any mood may be supplanted by any other—*bellum omnium contra omnes*—in most cases, apparently, without any clear change of meaning. If there is any psychological shift of attitude in these changes, that shift is at the most and solely due to an arbitrary change in the appraisal of the original mood. Granted that the moods really expressed different values, there is no conceivable motive for the mass of these changes, except the subjective feeling of the repeater or reciter of the second form. Of course this does not exclude the possibility of an occasional imitation of a related expression which has come to the mind of the repeater. But it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that independent changes of the repeater's mood are, in the main, and in varying degrees, at the bottom of this unbridled variety, tho such an assumption is, in the circumstances, the purest kind of argument in a circle. In any case the frequency of these changes testifies eloquently to that genuine instability in the use of moods which characterizes Hindu speech at least up to the time of the modern vernaculars. And because they concern all moods, the following pages are a kind of negative syntax of the ancient Sanskrit moods. Needless to say, the conditions described in this chapter happen to be unparalleled in the history of recorded literature and speech. A preliminary selection from them was published by Bloomfield in *AJP.* 33. 1 ff.

§89. The interest of these interchanges is greatly enhanced by the uncommonly large formal apparatus for expressing mood which is at the disposal of the Vedic language. This apparatus is considerably larger than that of Classical Sanskrit, and, we believe, than that of any other Indo-European language. The following forms carry with them modal value, under circumstances to be dealt with in detail later on; in various ways and various degrees they interchange with one another:

1. Present Indicative
2. Various Preterite Indicatives, notably Aorist; also predicative Past Passive Participles
3. Imperative (including those in *tāt*)

4. Imperative forms in *si* and (?) *se*
5. Subjunctive
6. Mixed Imperative-Subjunctive forms
7. Injunctive
8. Optative
9. Precative
10. Future
11. Desiderative
12. Infinitive

The rôle of the last two of these twelve classes is unimportant and, as regards strict modal quality, somewhat dubious. This still leaves ten modal categories whose interrelations are the theme of the following pages.

§90. Before entering upon a detailed discussion of the modal interchanges as between two or more different texts, there are three preliminary matters which substantiate this instability, and lend atmosphere to the subject as a whole. First, one and the same text sometimes varies its mood in what may be regarded as a repetition of the same passage. Secondly, the interchanges in different texts sometimes, and not rarely, bring in three or even more different moods. Thirdly, change of tense goes along with change of mood without, again, affecting the resulting meaning. Related with the last class are the numerous cases in which different tense-forms of the same mood interchange, again without the least indication of difference in function; see §§208 ff.

Interchange of moods in passages repeated in the same text

§91. Any single Vedic text is likely to show iteration on an extensive scale (cf. Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 31. 49 ff.). In these repeated passages the mood may be changed, either, apparently, for no other than subjective reason, or because of some external circumstance provoked by the technique of the text in question. Thus the RV.:

ādityair no aditih śarma yaṁsat 1. 107. 2; 4. 54. 6;

ādityair no aditih śarma yachatu 10. 66. 3;

'Aditi, together with the Ādityas, shall offer us protection.' *yaṁsat* is aorist subjunctive, *yachatu* present imperative; cf. the same relation between RV. 10. 128. 8a and AV. 5. 3. 8a, and see §106 for the frequent interchange between the stems *yacha* and *yaṁ* in general. The motive of the variation is metrical. The first verse is *triṣṭubh*, the second *jagati*. To see any other reason for the change would be sheer hair-splitting; one sentence says exactly the same as the other.

§92. The same criterion governs the choice of *kṛdhi*, aorist imperative, and *kaḥ*, aorist injunctive in the two RV. pādas:

asmabhyam indra varisāḥ sugam kṛdhi 1. 102. 4,

asmabhyam mahi varisāḥ sugam kaḥ 6. 44. 18.

See *RVRep.* 530.—Also in the following, both in KS.:

vācaspatir vācam naḥ svadatu 15. 11,

vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti naḥ 13. 14.

The first phrase is prose; the second receives a *jagatī* cadence. See §104, p.

§93. Only in a partial or one-sided way, if at all, can metrical convenience be assigned as a ground for the following variation:

svedā no rasā kṛdhi RV. 7. 32. 25,

svedā no rasā karat RV. 6. 48. 15.

'Make (let him make) wealth easy for us to get.' *kṛdhi* is aor. impv., *karat* aor. subj.; there is no reason why the poet of 7. 32. 25 should not have used *karāḥ* to match *karat*, but as to 6. 48. 15 it may be observed that the meter would oppose the use of the aor. impv. **kartu*, mixed aor. subj.-impv. *karatu*, or pres. impv. *kṛṇatu* or *karotu*.

§94. In passages repeated in the same vicinity, we find modal variations which appear to be due simply to the stylistic urge for variety; the change is for its own sake. This is prettily illustrated in the following RV. instance:

jagāḥ svarvātir apah 1. 10. 8c,

jagat svarvātir apah 8. 40. 10,

ajagāḥ svarvātir apah 8. 40. 11.

'Thou shalt conquer (hast conquered; he shall conquer) the waters rich in light.' In 8. 40. 10 we have a secondary repetition with change of person of 1. 10. 8c; in the next verse this is deliberately modulated by substitution of the aor. indie. for subj. See *RVRep.* 39.—Similarly,

jyok pitṛṣv āstām AV. 1. 14. 1, 'long may she sit among the fathers',

is modulated in vs. 3 of the same hymn to

jyok pitṛṣv āsātai,

with subj. for impv., which means exactly the same thing; it may also have been felt as improving the meter.

Here may likewise be recorded *abhi prayo nāsatyā vahanti* (6. 63. 7 °tu) RV. 1. 118. 4, 6. 63. 7. For in pāda a of 1. 118. 4 occurs the form *vahantu*, and it seems fairly clear that the following *vahanti* is a sort of stylistic dissimilation, and is secondary to *vahantu* of 6. 63. 7. See *RVRep.* 124.

AV. 11. 10. 14a *sarve devā atyāyanti* is repeated in the next verse,

15a, with *atyāyantu*; again, apparently, the change is for stylistic variety.

§95. Possibly of the same order may be the reason for the change in *madhvārā kṛṇuhi jātavedaḥ* RV. 3. 6. 6; 7. 17. 3;

madhvārā karati jātvaddh RV. 6. 10. 1; 7. 17. 4;

'Prepare, O Jātaveda (let J. prepare) effective sacrifices!' (Cf. other forms of the same pāda in other texts, §154.) If we assume that the variation originated in 7. 17. 3 and 4, the desire for variety may be sufficient to account for it; we can, at any rate, see no other reason: *kṛṇuhi* is pres. impv., *karati* aor. subj. The 3d person subj. forms are just as good imperatives as true imperative forms. Consider the 3d person mixed subj.-impv. forms treated below, §173; and let us remember that the so-called 1st person imperatives are really subjunctives. In view of these facts, and of the enormous number of interchanges between the two moods (below, §§151ff.), we may confidently say that there is no real difference between subjunctive and imperative in the mantras, at least as far as principal clauses go.¹¹

§96. In the next, a RV. repetition,

jyok paśyema sūryam uccarantam 10. 59. 6,

jyok paśyēt sūryam uccarantam 4. 25. 4,

'Long may we (he) behold the rising sun!', the variation between trissyllabic and dissyllabic verb-forms goes hand in hand with dissyllabic and trissyllabic pronunciation of *sūryam* (*sūriam*). Since *sūriam* is commoner in RV., we may perhaps assume that *paśyema* is secondary. But it must be observed that this has no apparent bearing on the question of moods, since the subj. *paśyāma* would do just as well in 10. 59. 6, and the opt. *paśyēt* in 4. 25. 4.

§97. In AV. 6. 122. 5, 11. 1. 27 *indro maruṭvān ea dadātu tan me* (11. 1. 27 *dadāt idam me*), 'Indra with the Maruts, may he give that to me', a slight and apparently unnecessary change between *tan* and *idam* goes along with, and either causes or is caused by, the exchange between impv. and injunctive (? subjunctive, from stem *dada-*). Again, AV. 19. 50. 7 has the metrically correct couplet *uṣā no aha ā bhajād, aha tubhyam vibhāvārī*, 'may the dawn commit us to the day, the day to thee, O shining one!' For the sake of a slight and unnecessary lexical alteration AV. 19. 48. 2 varies the mood and violates the meter: *uṣā no aha pari dadāt, aha tubhyam vibhāvārī*. The meaning is the same.

¹¹ The chief distinction between the two moods appears to be the exclusion of the 2d person imperative from dependent (except prohibitive) sentences. Cf. RV. 8. 103. 14 *mādayase svarāre*, 'delight thyself with (chez) Svarāra'; but 8. 65. 2 *gad. . . mādayase svarāre*, 'when thou mayst delight thyself' etc.

RV. 10. 35. 13 *viśve no devā avasā gamantu*, 'may all the gods come hither with help for us', is changed in 1. 89. 7 to *viśve no devā avasā gamanti tha*. The patch-word *tha* helps the substituted subj. *gamant* (instead of mixed impv.-subj. *gamantu*) to make a *jagati* pāda out of a *triṣṭubh*.

AV. 7. 60. 7 *viśvā rūpāni paśyata*, 'prosper ye in all forms', is adapted to the cosmogonic Rohita in 13. 2. 10 *viśvā rūpāni paśyasi*, 'thou prosperest in all forms.' The Ppp. in the latter passage has *prajāḥ sarvā si paśyasi*, 'thou beholdest every way all creatures', a more appropriate saying for the solar Rohita, and probably the original one; the Śaunaka version has mechanically imitated 7. 60. 7 which floated thru the mind of its redactor.

§98. Metrical convenience may again be held to account for the subj.-opt. interchange in RV. 7. 66. 16 *jitma śarodah satam*, appearing secondarily with change of person in 10. 85. 39 as *jitāsi* etc. For the opt. 3d sing. *jitet* would not fit the meter. It is interesting to note that this pāda, RV. 10. 85. 39, is repeated in ApMB. 1. 5. 2 with change of *jitāsi* to the hybrid subj.-impv. *jitatu*, showing the tense sympathy between subj. and impv. in the third person, alluded to above.

§99. In one RV. repetition there is no other than the resulting metrical difference between a pres. subj. and an aor. Indic.:

yan mā somāso manadan yad ukthā, ubhe bhayete rajeṣi apāre 4. 42. 6, 'When the soma libations and the songs of praise incite me, both boundless hemispheres (heaven and earth) are afright.'

purā sahasrā ni śiśāmi dātuse, yan mā somāso ukthino amandigh 10. 48. 4.

We may of course render the aor. of this passage: 'Many thousands do I secure for my worshiper when the soma libations accompanied by songs of praise have incited me.' But in truth the aor. is here just as modal as the subj.; it is the so-called prophetic aorist which states a wish as an accomplished fact. See §127 below.

§100. Again, the imperative in *tāl* (Whitney, *Grammar* §571; Delbrück, *AltSyntax* §207; Speyer, *Ved. Skt. Syntax* §188, n. 1) fails to differentiate itself modally from the ordinary pres. impv. in two RV. parallels:

pra no yachatāḥ arkaṁ prthu chardih 1. 48. 15,

prasmāi yachatām arkaṁ prthu chardih 8. 9. 1,

'Do thou furnish us (do ye two furnish him) broad protection against enemies.' (Cf. further RV. 8. 27. 4, *yantā no arkaṁ chardih*, with a yet different mood.) The difference is at most chronological; *yachatāḥ* may be a more archaic form, and it occurs in an older part of RV.; see

Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 262, and *RVRep.* 82. Thus we may account for the variation between *kṛdhi* and *kuru* in ŚŚ, *tato no abhayaṁ kṛdhi* 3. 20. 2 and . . . *kuru* 13. 2. 2. Here the mood is the same, but the archaic aor. impv. (inherited from RV. and kept in nearly all of the numerous reproductions of the *pāda* in other texts, see §210, a) is replaced by the commonplace pres. impv. *kuru*.

§101. We can conceive no reason for the variation between impv. and precative in the following formula, both forms of which are found in KS.: *durmitrās tasmai santu* (38. 5 *bhūyāsū*) *yo 'smān dvesṣti* 3. 8; 38. 5, 'may they be hostile to him who hates us.'

Instances of more than two modal varieties in the same passage

§102. In quite a number of cases more than two moods, usually three, but occasionally even more than three, interchange in different versions of one and the same passage. These are of special interest because they show in a superior degree that the modal distinctions are the reverse of sharp. The cases here listed are not repeated below under the heads of the much more numerous interchanges between two moods; they may be added there without any great inconvenience.

§103. In the formulaic prayer which says 'may I (thou, we, or he) live a hundred autumns!', there is a confluence of almost all modal varieties: subj. *jīvāti*, impv. *jīva*, mixed impv.-subj. *jīvātu*, opt. *jīema*, subj. (or impv.) 1st pers. *jīvāmi* and *jīeāma*; and, finally, present indie. *jīvāmi*. Their citations may easily be found in the Vedic Concordance; see e.g. *jīvāti śaradaḥ śatam*. And compare with these the closely related *triṣṭubh* *pāda*, *śataṁ jīvantu* (*jīvantāḥ*, *jīema*, *jīvāmi*, *ca jīva*) *śaradaḥ puruṣāḥ* (*sunurcāḥ*), 'may they (we, I, thou) live a hundred numerous autumns' or 'a hundred autumns being in possession of glory.'

§104. In the majority of the following list of multiple modal interchanges, one or more indicatives figure often along with one or more of the oblique moods; cf. §§112ff. and 127ff. These are followed by cases in which at least three non-indicative forms vary with each other. In the first not less than four moods are found (five if we count the mixed subj.-impv.):

(a) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, Subjunctive-Imperative, Imperative, and Precative:

ito mukṣīya māmulaḥ (ApŚ. *mā pateḥ*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *preto muṣcāmi* (AG. ŚG. SMB. MG. *muṣcātu*; PG.† *muṣcatu*; ApMB. *muṣcātū*) *māmulaḥ* (ŚG. MG. SMB.† *māmulaḥ*, PG. *mā pateḥ*) RV. AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG. 'Hence, and not thence (not from my, or

her, husband) may I be loosened (I loosen, let him loosen, etc.).' Cf. in Conc. *mṛiyor mukṣīya māṃtāt (mā paṭya)*. See §312.

(b) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive:

prapitāmahaṁ bibharti pīṇamānaḥ (TA.† °mahāṁ bibharat pīṇamānaḥ) AV. TA.: *svarga loke pīṇamāno bibhartu* ApŚ. 'It supports (shall support) our great-grandfathers, swelling' or the like.

ā naḥ payasvāni duhām (TS. PG. *dhukva*; MS. SMB. *duhā*, followed by vowel, but SMB. once, 2. 2. 1c, *duhām* acc. to Jørgensen, and so v. l. of MS.; MS. p. p. *duho*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. SMB. PG. 'Rich in milk she yields (yield thou, let her yield) to us.' The MS. and SMB. readings are doubtful.

yajñasyāyur anu sam varanti (AŚ. *tarantu*) TA. AŚ.: *yajñāyur anu sam carān* TB. ApŚ. 'Let them (they do) follow along the life of the sacrifice.'

kṣeme tiṣṭhāmi (ŚG. *tiṣṭha*, PG. *tiṣṭhātu*, HG. *tiṣṭhati*) *ghṛtaṁ ukṣamāyā* AV. ŚG. PG. HG. 'May it, dripping ghee, stand (or, it stands... stand thou) in security.'

(c) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, and Optative:

yeṣu (ŚG. *anyeṣu*, read *yeṣu* with Oldenberg, *Int.* 15. 73, note) *aham sumanāḥ sam viśāmi* (AŚ. °nī [text, °ti], MG. *rasāma*, ŚG. *viśeyam*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB. MG. (see Knauer's note on MG. 1. 14. 6). '(May) I (we) in this house live happily' or the like.

(d) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Precative:

sūrya bhrājīṣṭha bhrājīṣṭhas (with variants) *tvam* (MS. adds *varcasvān*) *deveṣu asi* (MS. *edhi*, TS. *deveṣu bhūydh*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. 'O brilliant sun, thou art (be thou) brilliant among the gods.'

ariṣṭān tvā saha paṭyā dadhāmi (ApMB. *kṛṇomi*) RV. ApMB.: *ariṣṭān mā saha paṭyā dadhātu* KŚ. MŚ. MG.: *ariṣṭānam saha paṭyā bhūyāsam* VS. 'I make thee (he shall make me; may I be) free from harm, with thy (my) husband.'

(e) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Future:

yāvatindām idam karomi (ŚG. *karisyāmi*) *bhūyasinām uttarām* (ŚG. °mām) *samām kriyāsam* MS. MŚ. ŚG.: *yāvatindām-yāvatindām va aīṣamo lakṣaṇam akāriṣam bhūyasinām-bhūyasinām va uttarām-uttarām samām kriyāsam* SMB.†

(f) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Imperative:

vācaspatiḥ somam apāt MS. TA. ŚŚ.: . . . *pībatu* TA. ŚŚ.: . . . *pībati* TA. All in same context. 'The lord of speech has drunk (drinks, shall drink) the soma.'

sugā (TS. ApŚ. *soḡā*) *vo devāḥ sadanā* (TS. N. °nam) *akarma* (MS.

kṛṇomi, KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. *sadanāni santu*, KS. *sadanēdam astu* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. N. 'We have made (I make; let be) your seats easy of access for you, O gods.'

(g) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Precative:

nir (KS. *nir druho nir*, VS. ŚB. *svdhā nir*) *varuṇasya pākān mucye* (KS. *mukṣīya*, MS. *pākān amukṣi*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'I am (have been; may I be) released from Varuṇa's fetter.'

(h) Present Indicative, Perfect Indicative, and Subjunctive:

salakṣmā (MS. KS. °ma) *yad viśurūpā* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °pam) *bharātī* (MS. KS. *babhūra*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viśurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS. 'That whoso (what) is like should be different' or the like. See §330, end.

varuṇeti śapdmahe (MS.† °hai; AV. *yad ūcimo*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

(i) Imperfect Indicative (or Injunctive), Perfect Indicative, and Imperative:

kāmaḥ (AV. PB. *kāmaḥ*, KS. *kāmas*) *samudram ā riśa* (AV. *riśaḥ*, KS. PB. *riśat*) AV. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. 'Desire hath entered (shall enter) the ocean', or, 'enter into the ocean desire.'

(k) Imperfect Indicative, Perfect Indicative, and Perfect Optative:

ny anyā arkam abhito viśikre (AV. °viśanta, JB. *viśīyuh*) RV. AV. JB. ŚB. AA. 'Others settled (may settle) about the sun.'

(l) Imperfect Indicative, Imperative, and Injunctive:

havyā te svadantām (MS. *svāntān*; KS. *asvadan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. But *svadan* may be imperfect, like *asvadan*; see §8.

(m) Aorist Indicative, Injunctive, and Imperative (Subjunctive-Imperative):

apaitu mṛtyur amṛtaḥ na āgaṇ (PG. *āgāt*) TB. TAA. ApŚ. PG. HG.: *paraitu mṛtyur amṛtaḥ na aitu* (ŚŚ. SMB. *amṛtaḥ na ā gāt*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. 'Let death depart, immortality hath (shall) come to us (me).' As between *āgāt* and *ā gāt* the mss. are, of course, indeterminate.

akṣan, *aghat(tam)*, *aghan*, *aghasan*, °sat, *aghasām tam*, *ghasat*, *ghasan*, *ghastu*, and *ghasantu*: see Cōne. under each word. All mean 'he has (they have) eaten' or 'shall eat.'

(n) Aorist Indicative, Imperative, and Future:

suhātukṛtaḥ suhātān naḥ kṛṇuta ŚŚ.: *suhātukṛtaḥ stha suhātām karīṣyatha* (and, *akārṣa*) AŚ.

(o) Perfect Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive:

madhu tvā (AV. *me*) *madhulā karotu* (AV. *karah*, RV. *cakāra*, MS. *kṛṇotu*) RV. AV. MS. TA. ApŚ. 'May it, honeyed, make thee honey'; 'it, honeyed, has made etc.'; 'do thou, honeyed, make honey for me.'

(p) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Subjunctive-Imperative:

vācaspatir na ditya vājam svadatu VSK.: *vācaspatir vācam* (VS. ŚB.† also *vājam*) *naḥ svadatu* (TS. KS.* *vācam adya svadātī naḥ*, TB... *svadātī te* [but Poonis ed. *naḥ*], MS... *svadātu naḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. (his) ŚB. TB. SMB. 'May the Lord of Speech sweeten our (thy) speech (food).'

svadantu havyam madhunā gṛtēna RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.: *svadātī* (MS. **tu*) *havyam* (VS. KS. *yajñam*) *madhunā gṛtēna* VS. MS. KS. TB.

agnis tān (AŚ. *tāl*, for *tān*) *lokāt pra ṇudāty* (AŚ. *ṇudāt*, SMB. *ṇudatv*) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB.: *agnis* (ApŚ. *agne*) *tān asmāt pra ṇudat* (ApŚ. *nudasva*) *lokāt* (AV. *pra dhamātī yajñāt*) AV. ApŚ. MŚ. 'May Agni (O Agni) drive them away from this world.'

(q) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Injunctive:

viśed īdeva prīṇā abhiṣya TB. ApŚ. HG.: *viśedā ca deva* (PG. *devaḥ*) *prīṇā abhiṣyāḥ* (PG.† **syak*) KS. PG. 'O god (let the god) annihilate all the hosts.' On *abhiṣyak* see §337, end.

maṇḍūkyā su sam gamah (Cott. *gama*, by error; TA. *gamaya*) RV. TA.: *maṇḍūky apsu kash bhuvah* AV.

(r) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Optative:

mahyam id vāsam ā nayāt ApMB.: *mahyam punor udājatu* HG.: *mahyam muktrādhānyam ānayet* PG.

(s) Imperative, Imperative in *tāt*, and Subjunctive:

etaṁ jānātha (KS. *jānāta*, TB. *jānātī*) *parame vyoman* VS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *jānāta emainam* (TS. MŚ. *jānātā enam*) *parame vyoman* AV. TS. MŚ. 'Acknowledge him in the highest heaven.' Cf. *tum smā jānāta* (VSK. **tha*) *parame vyoman* AV. VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ., which introduces also the present indicative, if we may trust the VSK. reading.

(t) Imperative, Imperative in *tāt*, and Optative:

chandanūmānām (with variants) *sāmraṣyaṁ gacha* (VSK. *gachātāt*; MŚ. *gachet*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. 'Arrive (may he arrive) at the sovereignty of the meters' names', or the like.

deveḥ na sukṛto (VSK. *mā sukṛtam*) *brātāt* (KS. *brāta*; PB. MŚ. *brāyāt*) VSK. TS. KS. PB. MŚ.: *devebhyo mā sukṛtam brātāt* (ŚB. with *ūha*, *voceḥ*) VS. ŚB.: *sukṛtam mā deveḥ brātāt* TS. A 3d person form is impossible here; PB. comm. reads *brātāt*, and probably MŚ. should be read so too. 'Declare us (me) righteous among (to) the gods.'

(u) Imperative, Optative, and Precative:

tasya na iṣṭasya prīṭasya draṇīṇehōgameḥ VS. 'Wealth of this en-

joyed sacrifice, come here to us!': *lasya mī yajñasyeṣṭasya vīlasya draviṇehāgamyāt* MS. (see §332): *lasya mīṣṭasya vīlasya draviṇam ā gamyāt* (KS. *draviṇehāgamyāḥ*; ApS. *draviṇehāgameḥ*) TS. KS. ApS.: *lasya yajñasyeṣṭasya vīṣṭasya draviṇam māyachuta* KS. (so read in both 5.4 and 32.4, with ms. at 32.4; v. Schroeder wrongly emends to *draviṇam āga*²⁰).

pari no heṣi rudrasya vṛjyāḥ (VSK. °yāt) RV. VSK.: *pari no rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu* TS. KS.: *pari no rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu* VS. MS. 'May Rudra's missile avoid us.' Cf. *pari no rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu* AV. KS., and *pari no heṣi rudrasya vṛjyāḥ* (TB. *vṛjyāt*) RV. TB. See *RVRep.* 573, where the pāda *pari teḍ* etc., and the Concordance reference thereto, are to be deleted; add KS. 30. 10 under *pari no rudrasya* etc.

(v) Imperative, Injunctive, and Optative:

sarvam āyur geṣam (AV. *aśya*, TA. *ayāni*, ŚB. *īhi*) AV. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. ApS. Cf. *śa° ā° asi* TB. ApS.

(w) Imperative, Precative, and Past Passive Participle:

apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyai (also, °vā adevayajanah, and, °vayai devaya-janyai) TS. ApS.: *apārarum adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajana* (ApS. *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS. ApS.: *apāraruḥ pṛthivyai devayajanaḍ badhyāsam* VS. ŚB. 'Drive away is (drive away; I would drive away) Araru from the earth' etc.

(x) Subjunctive, Injunctive, and Optative:

anu (MS. erroneously, *au*; KB. ŚŚ. *upa*) *vām jihvā ghṛtam ā caranyat* MS. KS. KB. ŚŚ.: *prati te jihvā ghṛtam uc caranyat* (TS. °yet) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *prati vām jihvā ghṛtam uc* (AV. TS.† also, ā) *caranyat* (AV. °yāt, TS. °yet) AV. TS. MS. KS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May your tongue move up to meet the ghee', or the like.

kṣetrasya patnī adhi no bruvāthaḥ (TS. *brūyātam*, KS. *adhi vocatam naḥ*) TS. MS. KS. 'Ye two mistresses of the field, bless us!' On the meaning of *adhi-vac* and *adhi-brū*, see Gehman, *JAOS.* 36. 213 ff.

yod adya hotṛvārye (ŚŚ. °vārye), *jūhman cakṣuh parāpalat* (ŚŚ. °lāt), *agniḥ tat punar ābharāt* (ApS.† °rat, ŚB. *ābhriyāt*) ŚB. ŚŚ. ApS. 'That which, at the choice of the hotṛ, may escape the crooked (faulty) eye, that may Agni bring back here.'

(y) Optative, Precative, and Future:

cārum adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam ApS.: *madhumatīm* (ŚŚ. °tīm *adya*) *devebhyo vācam udyāsam* (ŚŚ. *vācam vadisyāmi*) TS. TA. ŚŚ.: *madhumatīm vācam udeyam* AV.: *indriyābaltm adyāham vācam udyāsam* ..., ApS. 'May I (I shall) speak (today) honeyed (sweet) speech (to the gods).'

Change of tense

§105. According to a familiar fact of Vedic grammar the mood of any so-called tense has precisely the same value as the corresponding mood of any other tense; or, stated conversely, the moods may avail themselves indifferently of the so-called tenses to express what appears to our feeling as impenetrably undifferentiated modal value. This type of interchange belongs as well to the section on tenses, and is treated there in so far as forms are concerned which are identical in mood but different in tense (§§208ff.). E.g., as between *vinda*, present imperative, and *vīda*, aorist imperative, there is no difference whatever in the historic period of the language. Now this element of formal tense-difference appears frequently along with modal variation. That is to say, along with a change, say, from imperative to subjunctive, there is also a change from present to aorist, or some other tense change. These interchanges, tho they are necessarily negative on the side of tense, enhance still further the sense of the instability of modal interchange. Many pairs of this sort occur in the preceding and following lists, and can easily be gathered from them. But we have, in addition, separated the modal interchanges that are accompanied by tense interchanges, wherever the groups were large enough to make such a subdivision desirable. Thus, in the case of interchanges between Imperative and Subjunctive (§§151ff.), and between Imperative and Injunctive (§§155ff.).

§106. A number of these combined mood and tense changes will be found quite standard and typical. Thus, to illustrate the crossing of tense and mood in a few roots we may write out in full the following variants:

Present stem *yacha-*: aorist stem *yāṣ-*
ādityair no aditih śarma yāṣat (and, *yachatu*) RV. (both).
māterāsmā adite śarma yacha (ŚG. *aditih śarma yāṣat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB.
uruyacā no mahiṣaḥ śarma yāṣat (AV. *yachatu*) RV. AV. TS. KS.
sa (AV. *sā*) *naḥ śarma trivarūtham vi yāṣat* (AV. *nī yachāt*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Here both are subjunctives.

§107. More variegated are the correspondences of present imperatives of root *bhū* (occasionally also *as*) with combinations of other moods and tenses from *bhū*. The phonetic element that enters into the interchange between *av* and *uv* in several of these cases has been discussed above, §23:

utā trātā hivo bhavā (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauk.

sarāmislo aruṣa bhava (SV. *bhuvah*) RV. SV.
sānpriyaḥ paṭubhir bhava (TS. ApŚ. *bhucat*) MS. TB. ApŚ.: *sānpri-*
yaḥ prajayā paṭubhir bhuvat TA.
tram bhavādhiputir (AV. *bhār abhūbhūtir*) *jandnām* AV. MS. KS.
śam astu tanve mama AV.: *śam v astu tanvāḥ tava* VS.: *śam u te tanve*
 (TS. *tanuve*) *bhuvat* TS. KSA.

[*śvāreṣo ananīdā bhavā nah*; the Conc. quotation *bhuvā* for *bhavad* in ApMB. is to be deleted.]

§108. More briefly we find interchange in the root *kr*, 'make', aor. subj. *karati*: pres. impv. *kṛyotu* (§154), aor. subj. *karah*: pres. impv. *kṛyotu* (and perf. ind. *cakāra*, §104, o), aor. impv. *kṛdhī* and aor. subj. *karut*: pres. impv. *kṛyū* (§154). From *dā* 'give' and *dhā* 'place', aor. inj. *dāh* and *dhāh*: pres. impv. *dehī* and *dhehī*, and *dhāh*: *dadhātu* (§158); also *dhatta*, *datta*: *dāta*, and *dattām*: *dātām*, and *dhatta*: *dhāntu* (§198). From *ji* 'conquer', *jayata*: *jeṣatha* (aor. subj., §154), and *jayema*: *jeṣma* (§174). From *gam* and *gā* 'go', *gamema*: *geṣma*, and *gan*: *gamet* (§174), each pair in this case consisting of different aorist stems. From *nī* 'lead', *ninetu*: *neṣat* (§154). From *pā* 'protect', *pātu*: *pāsati* (§154). From *naś* 'perish', *naṣyatu*: *neṣat* (§158). From *vid* 'obtain', *vindatu*: *vidat* (*ibidem*) and *vidanta*: *vindantu* (§159). From *sthā* 'stand', *tiṣṭha*: *sthāt* (§158). From *kram* 'stride', *krāma*: *krāmīh* (§159).

§109. There are also cases in which the indicative of one tense interchanges with an oblique mood of another tense. Thus from *mad* 'rejoice', *mamadan* (pres. subj.): *amandīṣuḥ* (aor. ind. §145, a); from *van* 'win', *vanute*, *vanisate*, and *vanate* (§117); from *man* 'think', *manve*: *manai* (aor. subj., §119).

Of course the interchange of Precative (aorist Optative) and other moods commonly also involves change of tense; for examples, see §161.

SYSTEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF MODAL INTERCHANGES

§110. We turn now to a systematic account of the modal variations. As far as we can observe, the texts of different schools show no constitutional preference for any one mood as against any other. On the contrary, they all seem to show complete indifference of choice between them all. It is possible, of course, when a text substitutes e.g. imperative for subjunctive or precative for optative, that it approaches the passage from a slightly altered direction, or with a different quality of emotion. But it is commonly the same passage, in the same connection, uttered in the midst of the same real properties. At least the variants show a very strong tendency to regard the moods as interchangeable.

A good deal depends on the frequency of these interchanges; the more common they are, the greater the chance that they imply indifference to modal distinction, and nothing more. We may remember the numerous cases of interchange between active and middle voices, also for the most part bare of real distinction, which we have presented above.

§111. We shall deal with the moods in the order stated above. The passages in each class involve interchange between two moods only; these may be reinforced here and there from the groups involving more than two modal varieties (above, §104), which are not repeated here.

1. PRESENT INDICATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§112. This is the most frequent interchange. It includes nearly 300 cases, distributed rather unevenly between imperative, subjunctive, injunctive, and optative. It is in the main temperamental, rather than logical; philological, rather than grammatical. The Vedic mantras deal almost entirely with the praise of gods; with efforts to coax them into good humor and generosity; and with all sorts of magic or hocus-poeus that is supposed to fulfil wishes. In such an atmosphere the indicative, tho by nature a *modus rectus*, is in truth a sort of *modus obliquus* (*subjunctivus*); almost everything that is stated categorically is meant modally. The indicative states things as certain; as a matter of fact these things are merely wished for, hoped for, requested, or importunately insisted upon. So, e.g., to illustrate by one of the keenest desires in every stratum of the Veda, the desire for *dakṣiṇā* (baksheesh). A poet-priest states, apparently with serene confidence, therefore in the pres. ind., that a certain god is clever (*prajānan*) in making even the stingy man give gifts to the priests:

aditsantam dāpayati prajānan VS. KS. ŚB.,

'he cleverly makes the stingy man give.' But in truth the poet is whistling in the woods. What is really meant is, that he wishes, hopes, or requests that the god may, shall, or should do so. Accordingly three other texts read impv. *dāpayatu*, 'let him make to give', for the ind. *dāpayati*, 'makes to give':

aditsantam (AV. *utāditsa*°) *dāpayatu prajānan* AV. TS. MS.

Here we find no means for deciding which reading is the better or older. —If this were a question of logic or grammar, and not of temperament or manner of speaking, we might enrich the vocabulary of grammatical terminology by yet one more item, 'hortative indicative'.

§113. The hortative indicative is on the whole perhaps the commonest modal expression in the Veda. Its real interest for grammar is that it

varies impartially with pretty much all the oblique moods, showing indirectly that this most generalized kind of wish harbors no modal precision.

§114. We present first the variants which concern principal clauses, divided according to the moods that vary with the present indicative. Afterwards are listed a considerable number of cases concerning dependent (chiefly relative) clauses; the principles at the bottom of both groups are, for the most part, much the same.

Present Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

§115. This is by far the most frequent of these interchanges. The first persons of the imperative are really subjunctives. They involve peculiar conditions as far as the older language is concerned; we may reserve them for the next section. As for the other two persons, their readiness to take the place of the indicative calls to mind the fact that thruout Sanskrit literature the impv. is in a marked degree a mood of wish as well as command, as when, in contrast with Latin *vivat crescat floreat*, Sanskrit uses the imperative, *jayatu rājā*; or, often, the present indicative, which is equally frequent in the drama (e.g. *jayati jayati deva*), Śakuntala, ed. Pischel, *HOS.* 16: v. 9. 2), thus showing that the 'hortative indicative' is by no means limited to the Vedic language. The passive imperative is a favorite means of expressing polite request: Speyer, *Ved. u. Skt. Syntax* §192. The sequel will show that the impv. encroaches upon the other wish-moods to a larger extent than might be expected in a mood of command. Cf. Whitney, *Gram.* §§572, 575; Dellbrück, *AltSynt.* 361; Speyer, *op. cit.* §§188, 192.

§116. Here belong, first of all, the dozen cases of interchange between the 2d plural endings *ta* and *tha* which have been considered previously from the phonetic point of view (§§14-19). They are not repeated here. The long list of the rest is as follows:

kṣatrānām kṣatrapatir vai (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *edhi*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB. KŚ.

ApŚ. 'Thou art (be thou) sovereign lord of sovereignties.' Prayer for a king at his coronation.

syonā cāsi suṣadā cāsi VS. ŚB. 'pleasant art thou and a fair seat'; *syonā ca me suṣadā caidhi* TB. ApŚ. 'be thou pleasant to me and a fair seat.' Addressed to earth.

[*prathena dyāvāprthivī* (MS. adds *āprṇa*)] *antarikṣam ca vī bādhasa* (MS. *bādhasa*, TS. *bādhalām*) VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. 'With thy (its) back thou sunderest (sunder thou, let it sunder) heaven and earth and the atmosphere', or the like. Address to one of the altar-bricks.

ā rohatho (TS. VS. ŚB. *rohatham*) *varuṇa mitra gartam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

(*jātavedasam*) *adhvarāṇām janayathah* (KS. MŚ. °*yatah*) *purogam* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. To the fire-sticks; 'Ye beget (beget ye) (Agni) as leading-steer of sacrifices.'

abhi-prayo ndeatyā vahanti (and, °*tu*) RV. (both). See §94.

somo vīram karmāṇām dadāti (TB. °*tu*) RV. VS. MS. TB.

viśvāni hi (KS. *hi*) *ripram pravahanti* (MŚ. °*tu*) *devā* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. Cf. *viśvam āmat pra vahanti ripram* TS.

dhanuḥ kotvor apakūman kṛyoti (MS. °*tu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. 'The bow brings (shall bring) sorrow to the enemy.'

ā devo yātu (MS. MG. *yātu*) *satvā suratnaḥ* RV. MS. KS. AB. KB. ŚB. TB. MG. AŚ. ŚŚ.

edhanti asyā jñātayāḥ RV. AV. ApMB.: *edhantāḥ jñātayo mama* SMB. PG. HG. MG. Both in wedding rites: '(let) her (my) relations thrive.'

viśvā rūpāni pūyato (and, *pūyati*) AV. (both). See §97.

ekā sālī bahudhōḥo vy uchasi (MS. KS. *ucha*) TS. MS. KS. PG. The stanza is otherwise *triṣṭubh*; *uchasi* is thus inconsistent metrically. 'The single, O Ugas, shine (thou shinnest) forth in many places.'

bhūto hariṣmaty asi (AV. °*mat bhava*) AV. TS. TB.

priyo me hṛdo (MŚ. *hito*, v. l. *kuto*) 'si (MŚ.† *bhava*) TS. MŚ.

agnaye tvā mahyam varuṇo dadātu (MS. °*ti*) VS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ.—The same with *brhaspataye*, *yamāya*, *rudrāya*.

tasmin devā amṛtā mādayantīnu (RV. °*ti*) RV. AV. TA.

tiṣṭhantu hatavarcasāḥ AV. 'let them stop still, their glory shattered';

tiṣṭhanti hatavartmanāḥ N. 'they stand still, their way blocked.'

vegā te dhāma rypati (AV. *ūrpitu*) RV. AV. SV. IŚ. MŚ. KŚ.

prāyo yajñena kalpatām (MS. MŚ. °*te*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

—The same with *dyur*, *cakṣur*, *pratham*, *brahmā*, *mama*, *yajñā*, *vāy*, *śrotram*, and *ear*.

ava bādhe pṛtanyatāḥ (ApŚ. °*ti*) MS. ApŚ.: *avabādhuva pṛtanyatāḥ* PG.

indreṇa yujā pra mṛṇta (TB. *sayujā prañītha*, read with Poona ed. *pramṛṇītha*) *śatrūn* AV. TB. Comm. of TB. *nirākṛuta* (impv.).

gharmasyaikā savitāikām ni yachati (MS. KS. °*te*, PG. °*tu*) TS. MS. KS. PG.

pleasatir jivadhanyāḥ pibantu (KSA. °*ti*) RV. TS. KSA.

pra stomā yanty (SV. *yanti*) *agnaye* RV. SV.

pra eām adhoaryus curati prayasātā (AV. *curatu payasvān*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

pratīkṣante (ApMB. °*tām*) *śvaśuro devarāḥ* (ApMB.† *śvaśuro devarāḥ*) ca AV. ApMB.

prati sansaram upa yāti (AV. *yātu*) *pīlaye* RV. AV.

prajāvantah prati grhñantu (TS. KS. ApŚ. °tu) *pārve* AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

yajñam hinwanti adriḥhih RV.: *yajñāya sanu adriyāh* SV.

pārñām vivasṭy (SV. °u) *āsizam* RV.† 7. 16. 11b. SV. MS.

pumāsah jātam abhi sah rabhantām (RV. °te) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

punāti te pariserutam RV. VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *pundtu* etc. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

brahma tena punāhi nah (LŚ. mā; VS. KS. *punātu mā*; MS. TB. *punīmahe*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *idam brahma punīmahe* TB.

agne dakṣaṭh punāhi nah (TB. mā; MS. *punīmahe*) RV. MS. TB.

ā pyāyayantu (N. °ti) *bhuvanasya gopāh* AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. N.

sa vuh sarvāh eam carati prajānan AV.: *sarvāh sarvā vi caratu pra°* MS. *svaḥsutyām* (MŚ. *sudyahsutyām*) *indragñibhyām... prabravīmi* (ApŚ. also, *prabrūtāt*) ApŚ. (bis) MŚ. KŚ.: *svaḥsutyām vā eṣām... prabravīmi* AŚ. It seems that *prabrūtāt* is used as 1st person; cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §571b, quoting *jāgrūtāt* AV. 4. 5. 7 as the 'only case' of *tāt* as 1st person.

ahāny asmai audinā bharanti (TB. °tu) RV. TB.

iṣam madantah pari gām nayadhvam (AV. *nayānah*) RV. AV. MG. 'Reveling in foods, lead (we lead) the cow about.'

asti hi smā (TS. MS. KS. *astu sma*) *te śugminn avayāh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'For here, O strong (Indra), te (shall be) thy conciliation.'

On *avayāh* see Neisser, *Z. Wsch. d. RV.*, s. v.

api pūṣā ni śidatu (AV. ŚŚ.* °ti) AV. ŚŚ. (bis) LŚ. SMB. HG.: *iha pūṣā ni śidatu* PG.: *rāyas poṣo ni°* ApŚ. ApMB.: *vīras trālā ni°* AB.

apah samudrād divam ut vahanti (Kauś. °tu) AV. Kauś.

indra tvad yantu (AŚ. ŚŚ. *yanti*) *rālayah* SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

abhi (AV. TB. *upa*) *pra yantu* (TB. AVPpp. *yanti*) *naro agnirūpāh* RV. AV. AVPpp. TB. N.

indrūpāṣṇoh priyam apy eti (MS. KSA. *etu*) *pāthoh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚŚ.

ityam (AB. adds *eat*) *pītryā* (AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *pitre*) *rāṣṭry etv* (AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *ety*) *agre* AV. AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.—AVPpp. agree with AŚ. ŚŚ.

gharman śrīñantu prathamāya dhāsyase (AŚ. ŚŚ. *śrīñanti prathamasya dhāseḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

utāditsantam dāpayatu prajānan AV.: *aditsantam dāpayati* (TS. MS. °tu) *prajānan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ūrjo bhāgash prthivyā yāty (KS. *prthivīm ety*; ApŚ. °vīm etc) *āprñan* MS. KS. ApŚ.

- etām sthūṇām pīaro dhārayantu (AV. °ti) te RV. AV. TA.
 vṛṣānam yantu (MS. yanti) janayāḥ sapatnīḥ VS. MS. KS. TB.
 indrauḥaskārauḥasvāns toam suhasvān devesṛ ehi MS.; indrauḥasvān
 ojasvi (VS. ŚB. indrauḥisṭhanuḥisṭha; VSK. indrauḥasvān ojasvāns;
 AŚ. indra ṣoḍaśinn ojasvino; Vait. [read] indra ṣoḍaśinn ojasvāns)
 toam devesṛ asi VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. AŚ. Vait.
 tiro (RV. VS. ŚB. AG. antar) mṛtyum dadhatām (TA. ApŚ. °dadhmahe)
 parvatena RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. (tās) AG. ApMB.
 'Let them block (we block, or hide, remove) death with a mountain.'
 vi māmīḥva payasvatīm gṛhātām AV.; vi mīme tvā payasvatīm devānām
 TB. ApŚ.
 śṛṇvantu (TS. ŚvetU. °ti) viśve amṛtasya putrāḥ (AV. amṛtāḥ etat)
 RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.
 śṛṇvanti (PB. °tv) āpo adha (PB. °dhaḥ) kṣarantīḥ RV. PB.
 śṛta utanti (MŚ. °tu) janitā matnām TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
 sa no devaḥ śubhāyā smṛtyā samyuktu (MahānU. °ti) TA. MahānU.
 vi (MS. KS. pra) parjanyaḥ (RV. °yam, TS. °yāḥ) śṛjanti (MS. KS.
 śṛjatām) rodasī anu RV. TS. MS. KS.
 sam akṣaparaśās curanti (MS. °tu; AV. °parṇāḥ patantu) no naraḥ RV.
 AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.
 sa yajñīyo yajatu (AV. °tu) yajñīyāḥ pītān RV. AV.
 sam no mahānī sam iṣo mahanātām KS.; teṣām iṣtānī sam iṣā madanti
 RV. VS. TS. MS. N. In the same verse.
 sa virājam (KS. °jā) pary eti (MS. eti; KS. pari yāti) prajānan TS. MS.
 KS. Cf. anemi rājā pari yāti videḥān VS. ŚB.
 sa smā kṛṇoti (ApŚ. °tu) ketum ā RV. ApŚ.
 sinanti pākam atī (ŚŚ.† adhi) dhīra eti (ŚŚ. emi) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.; si-
 nantu sarva anṛtām vadantam AV.
 pāramānasya tvā stomena . . . vīryenot śṛje MS.; pāramānenā tvā stomenā
 . . . vīryeṇa devas tvā sruṇot śṛjatu . . . (KS. vīryeṇoddharāmy asau)
 TS. KS.
 ketumad dundubhīr vāvadīti (AV. °tu) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.
 gṛhapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti (AŚ. harito vahantu) TB. AŚ. ApŚ.;
 gṛhapruṣo haritas tvārahantu KS.
 gṛhṭasya dhīrā madhumat pavante (AV. °tām) RV. AV. VS. KS. ApŚ.
 āpo grheṣu jāgrata HG.; āpo devesu jāgratha PG.; āpo haviṣsu jāgrta
 ApŚ.; āpo jāgrta MS. KS. MŚ.
 yamo dadāti (VS. ŚB. TA. and v. l. of AV., see Whitney on 18. 1. 55,
 °tv) avasānam asmai RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA.; cf. addā idam yamo
 (VS. KS. ŚB. addā yamo) 'vasānam pṛthivyāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS.
 ŚB. TB. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 311.

tato dadāti (TB. and v. l. of MS. °tu) *dātūge savāni* RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB.

tad agnir deo devebhyo vanate (MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. *vanutām*) TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. But *vanate* may be aor. subj.; see §§154, 191.

devo devān yajate (ApS. °ty) *agnir arhan* RV. ApS.

dhantantī yanti (MS. KS. *yantu*) *vṛṣṭayoh* RV. TS. MS. KS

devo devānām pavitram asi TS. MS. KS.; *devo devebhyah pavitra* VS. ŚB.

dhruva sadasi śdati (SV. °tu) RV. SV.

tsamā āndrāya sutam ā juhota (TB. ApS. *juhomi*) VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApS. MŚ.

tsamāi sūryāya sutam ā juhota (ApS. *juhomi*) MS. KS. MŚ. ApS.

patha anaktu (AV. KS. °ti; TS. *patha ānakti*) *madhva ghṛtena* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

pātreva bhindan sata eti (AV. *etu*, v. l. *eti*) *rakṣasah* RV. AV. N.

hṛdā matim janaye (VS. KS. TB. °ya) *cārum agnaye* RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApS.

pibanti (SV. °tu) *varuṇah kare* RV. SV.

madhva yajñam mimikṣatam (and, °ti) RV. (both).

mayobhūr vāto abhi vātāśrāḥ (KSA. *vāty uśrāḥ*) RV. TS. KSA. TB. ApS. AQ.

māhyam vātaḥ pavatām (KS. °te) *kāme asmān* (AV. *kāmdyāsmān*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

mitro nayaṭu (SV. °ti) *vidvān* RV. SV. AB. GB.

yajño devānām praty eti (MS. *etu*) *sumnam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yajo yajyante (MS. *yujjantu*) *karmabhīḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

āpura etā mā. . . pūrayato ŚŚ.: *āpūrya etā mā pūrayata* . . . TS. AŚ.; *āprno 'si samprṇah* (ApS. corruptly, *āprnoṣi samprṇa*) *prajāyā mā pośubhir ā prṇa* ŚŚ. ApS. 'Thou art (ye are; be ye) filler(s), fill me up' etc.

ṛtendasya nivartaye (MŚ. °ya), *satyena parivartaye* (MŚ. °ya) TB. ApS. MŚ. 'By his holy order do I (thou) return' etc.

yaman ha yajña gachati (TA. °tu) RV. AV. TA.

ṛeto dadhāte (RV. °ty) *oṣadhīṣu garbham* RV. TB. ApS.

strīyanti (RV. * *strīṣṭa*) *barkhīr ānuṣak* RV. (both). SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApS. N.

ei śloka etu (AV. *eti*; TS. ŚvetU. *śloka yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (AV. *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrdh*, KS.† *sūrah*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

sed agnir agnīṣṭ agty asti (TB. *ety*) *anyān* RV. AB. TB. AŚ.

anv enām viprā rṣayo madanti (KSA. °tu) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.
adha sma (MS. sma) te vrajanam kṛṇam asti (MS. astu; KS. vrajanam
astu kṛṇam) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

adha pra tsā na upa yantu (SV. pra nāsam upa yanti) dhātayaḥ RV. SV.
aśrāṇā tvam jarayasi (MS. KS. jaraya) sarvam anyat TS. MS. KS. PG.
jarayasi is hypermetric; 'unaging, thou makest (make thou) ago
every other thing.' To Uṣas.

agnis (ad vītram (AV. mss. vīśād, so read with SPP. and Whitney
Transl.) āprṇāti (AV. °tu) vīśān RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

te arṣantu te varṣantu L. Ś.: te varṣanti te varṣayanti AV.

paramēṇa poṣuṇā kṛiyase (MS. kṛiyasa) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. tasyāe
te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyāś coramēṇa paṣuṇā kṛiyāmi TS.

vīśvasmai bhūtāyādhīvaro (KS. MŚ. °ya dhīvaro) astu devāḥ (TS. °dhīva-
°śi) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

āśvina bhīṣajāvataḥ (MS. °tam, TB.† °ta) VS. MS. TB. 'The Aśvins,
physicians, do ail', or, 'O Aśvins (and Sarasvatī, TB.), physicians,
ail ye!'

rohanti (AŚ. °tu) pūrṣyā ruhah MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Cf. tiṣṭhanti
sūruho yathā TS.

soma arṣanti (SV. °tu) viṣṇave RV. SV. Cf. somo arṣati vi* RV.

athāsyai madhyam rjatu (ŚŚ. °ti) AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

(pari...) mahe kṣatrāya (and, kṛotrāya) dhullana AV.: (pari...) mahe
rāṣṭrāya (and, kṛotrāya) dadhmaśi HG. 'Wrap ye (we wrap) this
man up unto great kingship (fame).'

kas tvā yunakti sa tvā yunaktu (VS. ŚB. °ti) VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. TB.
ApŚ.

kas tvā vi muṣcati sa tvā vimuṣcati (KSA. °tu) VS. KSA. ŚB.

ślenāsyetyām anv ihi taskarasya (KS. °tyām taskarasyānv ihi; TS. °tyām
taskarasyānv eṣi) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

smuṣā sapatnā (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text, °nāḥ) śvaśuro 'yam astu
(AŚ. śvaśuro 'ham asmi) TB. AŚ. Comm. on TB., yajamānasya
ropatnāḥ śatravah smuṣāvat svadhīnāḥ santu, ayam tu yajamānāḥ
śvaśuro 'stu śvaśuravat svātmā bhavātu(!).

layā mā savi vjāmasi HG. ApMB.: layā mām indra savi vjā RVKh.
See §304.

ud id vapatu (KS. °ti) gām avim AV. KS. MS.: tad ud vapati etc. VS.
ŚB.: ud it kṛṣati gām avim TS.

layā (ApMB. layā) prattam svadhīyā madantu (ApMB. °ti, v. l. °tu)
ApMB. HG.

apa śatrūn vidhyatām (MS. vidhyataḥ) sanvidāne RV. VS. TS. MS.
KSA. N.

traya emām mahimānah vacante (ŚG. °ām) TS. MS. KS. ŚG. ApMB.
triṣug (AŚ. *triśrud*) *gharmo vi bhātu me* (KS. *gharmas sadam in me*
vibhāti) KS. TB. TA. AŚ.: *tiṣṭhūr gharmo vibhāti* MS.: *gharmas*
triṣug vi rājate (ŚŚ. *rocate*) VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. 'The triple-shining hot
 drink shines (shall shine) for me', or the like.

asau yaja AŚ.: *asau yajate* . . . IŚ.

iha sūrya ud etu te AV.: *ut sūryo diva eti* AV. And others, see Conc.
anulbanam vayatā (KS. *vayasi*) *jogurām apah* RV. TS. KS. AB. ApŚ.
evam garbham dadhāmī (ApMB. *dadhātu*) *te* ŚB. BrūU. ŚG. ApMB.
 HG. And others; §802.

mahi na vātū iha vāntu bhūman AV.: *miham na vāto vi ha vātī bhāma* RV.
āsthāpayata mātaram jigatnum AV.: *ā mātara āsthāpayase jigatnā* RV.
rayam dhātām (and, *dhāttha*, *dhāttho*) *rasumanituh purukṣum* (once,
katagrivam). RV. (quater). The ind. forms occur in relative
 clauses, but the impv. *dhātām* twice in principal clauses. See
 RVRep. 149.

anu madhā cikīlām (KS. °te) *somo agniḥ* AV. KS. TB.

te na ālmasu jāgrati (KS.† *jāgrta*) AV. KS. 'They watch (watch ye)
 over ourselves.' Whitney considers emendation to *jāgratu*, which
 Ppp. reads.

ihaiva vālayah santu (MS. *sānti sam yajurbhiḥ*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.
 IŚ.

sarve devā atyāyanti (and, °tu) AV. (both). See §94.

iṣa ūrje pavate (MS. *pipāhi*) VS. MS. ŚB. And others. See also, in
 Conc., *adbhyah*, *oṣadhībhyah*, *vanaspatībhyah*, *brahmararcasāya*,
dyāvrāpṛthivībhyām, *asmai kpatrāya*, *asmai brahmanye*, *asyai rīṣe*,
mahyam jyaiṣṭhyāya, etc., *pavate*, and correspondents. [But I
 question any relation here. F.E.]

akīlīḥ santu (AV. *santy*) *aṣṭau* RVKh. AV. ŚŚ.

dakṣiṇato vṛṣabha eṣi havyah (TS. *edhi havyah*, MS. KS. *vṛṣabho havya*
edhi) AV. TS. MS. KS.

pari nah pāhi (*pātu*; *pari mā pāhi*) *viśvataḥ* AV. (all): *pari tvā pāmi*
sarvataḥ RVKh.

paridam vājy ajinam (PG. °dam *vājinam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG. *dhatsvāsau*)
 ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. 'Put on, vigorous, thou yonder, this
 skin', or, 'this skin I, vigorous, put on', or the like.

tāv imā upa sarpatāḥ SV. JB.: *emām anu sarpatā* MS.

anirām apa zedhatī (AG. *bādhatām*) AV. ŚŚ. AG.

jaghanān upa jigñate (MS. °tu, p. p. °ti) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

adhaspadam kṛṇutām (AV.* *kṛauṣva*, TS. *kṛoute*) *ye pṛtanyavah* AV.
 (bis) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

devasya yanti ātayo (KS. *yantūāyayo*) *vi vājāh* RV. KS.

ātra (ŚB. *ātrā*) *jahāmo 'asā ye asan* VS. ŚB.; *ātrā jahāma* (AV. *jahāta*) *ye asāni asvāh* (AV. *asvāh*, and *asan durevāh*) RV. AV. (bis) TA.

ā tvā śikur ā krundatu PG.: *endm śikuh krundaty ā kumārāh* ŚG.

pālam (TS. *vītam*) *ghṛtasya guhyānā nāma* TS. ŚŚ.: *pātho ghṛtasya guhyasya* (MS. KS. *guhyānā*) *nāma* AV. MS. KS.

tataś (RV. *ataś*, KS. *tatra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV. *cakṣāthe*, MS. KS. *cakṛāthe*) *adīthm dīthm ca* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

id (KS. *yā*) *no dadātu* (KS. *°ti*) *kravayam pītṛnām* (TS. *pītṛnām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. It is significant that KS., in making the clause relative, substitutes an ind. for the impv. which is anomalous in relative clauses; see §§122 f.

ayam (AŚ. **aham*) *batrān* (*batrān*) *jayatu* (AŚ. **jayāmi*) *jarhṛsāyah* (AŚ.† **jarhiṣāyah*!); followed in all texts by:

apam (AŚ. **aham*) *vājam* (VS. VSK. ŚB. *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ. **jayāmi*) *vājasātāu* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis). The first person ind. form in AŚ. is a conscious *vīkāra* of the other.

antarā dyāvōpṛthivī nīyanti (MŚ. *°tu*; KS. MŚ. add *panthānah*) TS. KS. SMB. MŚ. PG. BDL.

tah sam dadhāni (KS. *dadhātu*, AŚ. KŚ. *tanomā*) *haviṣā* (MS. *manasā*) *ghṛtena* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. AŚ. KŚ.

dirghajyotsāya jarulūṣṭir aśmī (MG. *astu*) PG. MG. On MG. see §323.

[*śusatyam id gavām ayyasi pra khudasi* ŚŚ.: *śugadam id gavām aśi pra khuda* AV. by R-Wh's emendation; but the mss. agree as to the verb forms with ŚŚ.]

[*yato bhayam abhayam tan no astu* (AV. ed. *aśi*, by misprint; see Lanman ap. Whitney on 19. 8. 4) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.]

[*vahīṣṭhebbhir* (MS. *bah*?) *viharān yāsi* (TB. *pāhi*, but comm. and Poona ed. text *yāsi*, so read) *tantum* RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.]

[*grāmān sajanāyo yanti* HG.: *grāmān sajanāyo gachanti* ApMB.† (Conc. quotes ApMB. as *gachantu*.)]

Present Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses

§117. This is a much rarer interchange than that between present indicative and imperative. It is quite impossible to feel any distinction between the two classes; we may conclude that, in this sphere of expression, impv. and subj. perform the same function, even if we suspect, as we do, that the impv. is the milder mood of the two. The following are instances of the 2d and 3d persons:

agnir nō vanate (VSK. *vanute*; SV. TS. KS. *vanate*) *rayim* RV. SV. V8. VSK. TS. MS. KS. 'Agni wins (shall win) wealth for us.' Here *vanute* is pres. ind., *vanate* aor. subj., while *vanate* is ambiguous, either the one or the other. Cf. Neisser, *BB.* 7. 223f.; Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 289; and above, §10, end.

indro jayāti (MS. *jayati*) *na parā jayātai* (MS. *jayate*) AV. TS. MS. 'Indra shall be (is) victorious, shall not be (is not) vanquished.'

uta prahām alidīryā jayāti (AV. **diva jayati*) RV. AV. (both). 'Moreover the superior gamester shall win (wins) the stake.' *jayati* is metrically inferior.

trṣṣaṁ rasānā sumānā asaz (HG. *asī*) *tram* AV. HG. '(O house,) clothed in grass (i.e. thatched), be thou (thou art) well-disposed (towards us).'

vaśt vāsam nayasa (AV. *nayāsā*) *ekaja* *team* RV. AV. 'Thou, sole-born one, bringest (shalt bring) them under control, controlling.' Manyu 'wrath' is addressed.

adhirājo rājanā rājayātai (TS. **ti*; MS. **yate*) AV. TS. MS.

sa nō jiveṣi ā yame AV.; *sa nō deveṣi ā yamat* RV. TA. 'He furnishes (shall furnish) us (long life) among the living (the gods).' But see note in Whitney's AV. 18. 2, 3, from which it appears that the true reading of AV. is *yamet*, aor. opt.; this variant would then belong in §169. *yame* as 3d sing. is doubly suspicious; the present *yamāte* is quoted in Whitney's *Roots* only from the Epic and later. SPP. with many mss. reads *yamet*, or rather *yamed* (followed by *d-*).

pra rādhasā codayāte (SV. *rādhasi codayate*) *mahitvanā* RV. SV.

rejate (SV. *bhyasāt te*) *śuṣmāt prithivī cid adriṣaḥ* RV. SV. 'The very earth trembles (shall be afraid) before thy might, O possessor of the press-stone.'

yāh pasānām ṛṣabhe vācas tāh vūrya agre kuro agre tāh prahiyamī (Ap S. **higro*)... MS. ApS. *prahiyāh* is 2d sing. subj. with irregular (weak) stem; cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §701, end.

samjānate manasā sam cikītre RV.; *sam jānāmahai manasā sam cikītrē* AV.

§118. Rather more frequent are the interchanges between the first persons subj. and indic. This is obviously due to the fact that the 1st person subj. forms do duty as imperatives, at no period in the language is there any basis for distinguishing impv. and subj. in the 1st person. *tayānantarī* (MS. *teyāgne*) *kāman* (SS. *lokam*) *aham jāyāmi* (MS. *jāyāmi*) AS.† SS. ApS. MS. ApMB. 'Thru this (offering) may I win endless delight (heaven)', or, 'thru thee, Agni, I win delight.'

brahmāham antaram kṛtave (KŚ, *karave* = °*va*) AV. KŚ. 'I make (let me make) the charm my inner (defense).' See §26.

(*tendham arya brahmanā*) *nī vartayāmi* (TB, °*nī*; but comm. and Poona ed. text °*mī*) *jīvasse* TR. ApŚ. MŚ. 'By that charm of his I (let me) return to life.' But ApŚ. and the comm. suggest that Poona ed. of TB. is right in reading an indic.

jagatyairiṣaṣ (AŚ. erroneously, °*tyenaṣ*) *vikṛye ā rekayāmaḥ* (MS. KS. °*mī*; AŚ. °*nī*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'With the *jagati* (master) we (I; may I) settle him among the clans.'

idam aham nūm kalyāṇyai kīrtiyai varṣāya lokāyāmṛtatsūye (ApŚ. *lokāya*) *dakṣiṇām nayāni* (ApŚ. °*mī*; MŚ. *dadāmi*) KB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *idam aham nūm kalyāṇyai kīrtiyai tejase yadūse* 'mṛtatsūyālmūnam dakṣiṇām nayāni AŚ.

jīvaṇṇ eva prati tat te (MŚ. SMB. v. 1. *pratidatte*) *dadhāmi* (MŚ. *daddmi*, SMB. *dadāni*) TA. SMB. MŚ. But Jürgensen reads *dadāmi* in SMB.; his miss. vary.

taṣ teṇubhagraha prapadye (ApŚ. °*praviḥāni*) *saguh*, . . . KS. ApŚ. (bis): *taṣ teṇ pra padye taṣ teṇ pra viḥāni sarvaguh*, . . . AV.

yad aham devayajannāṁ veda tasmāns teṇ devayajana ā kṛiṇomi (SB. *tasmāns teṇ vṛicāni*) ŚB. ApŚ. Acc. to Caland on ApŚ. 10. 2 10, the HŚ. reads *āvṛicāni*.

tau sāha (VS. ŚB. *tā ubhau*) *caturah padaḥ sam prapṛayānhaḥ* (VS. ŚB. °*va*, MS. °*vaḥ*) VS. TS. MŚ. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ. See comm. on TS. 7. 4. 19. 1 (note 9 in Weber).

ee loka viśā (MŚ. *vīśa*) *iha* TS. MŚ. '(May) I enter into my own place here.' The TS. strangely accents the form *vīśā*.

yasmād yener udāvṛiṣa (KS. °*iha*) *yaj* (MS. KS. *yajā*) *taṁ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ei sukhyāni sṛjāmaḥ (ŚŚ. °*mahai*; MŚ. *sṛjāmaḥ*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. PG.

§119. The preceding examples still partake of that temperamental distinction between ind. and the oblique moods, described above. There are, however, also plain cases of such interchange as when we say in English either 'let me eat', or 'I am going to eat'. For the present is so little of a tense as to be at times a future; again, future and subj. are, especially in Sanskrit, close allies. Hence the following cases, which are of course not sharply marked off from the preceding:

(*om*) *un nayāni* AŚ.: (*om*) *un nayāmi* KS. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I (am going to) ladle out.' And others, see Cone.

nīhāraṁ nī harāmi (VS. ŚB. °*nī*) *te* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

dudāmīty (AŚ. *dadāmīty*) *agnir vadati* TB. AŚ. 'I (am going to) give, saith Agni.'

manai nu (MS. *manas nu*, TS. *mandāma*) *babhrūṇām aham śatam dhāmāni* *śapta ca* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. 'Of these brown (herbs) I (am going to) declare the hundred powers and seven.' See §§10, 191.

somam te kṛṇāmy, . . . TS. KS.: *somarikrayin somam te kṛṇāni*, . . . MS. *etad* (ŚŚ. *idam*) *vām tena prīṇāni* (ŚŚ. °mī, ApŚ. °tī, read °nī, Ozland on 2. 20, 6, n. 2) TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Conc. quotes *prīṇāni* for TB.

Present Indicative and Infinitive in principal clauses

§120. The injunctive, or 'improper subjunctive', is identical in form with augmentless preterites of all classes. The distinction between modal value and preterite value is always hard to make; especially since the Veda abounds with preterite indicatives in quasi-modal use (§§127ff.). Moreover, a large part of the injunctive forms are formally identical with imperatives, and some of them with optatives, which further tends to efface the individuality of the injunctive. The present class of interchange is rare in any case. In so far as it occurs it puts the injunctive completely in line with the subjunctive. The following few cases are in a measure supported by some of the same sort in dependent clauses (§125).

pra te divo na stanayanti śuśmāh RV. TS. 'your lightning (fires, O Agni) thunder forth as if from heaven'; *pra te divo na stanayanta śuśmāh* MS. 'may (your fires) thunder forth as if from heaven with lightning.'

pari vajante (SV. °ta) *janayo yathā patim* RV. SV. AV. 'They (shall) embrace him as wives do their husbands.'

urdhvas tusthau nem ann glāpayanti (AV. °ta) RV. AV. 'He stands upright; verily they do not (let them not) exhaust him.' [It has been argued that] this stanza has a better form in AV. than in RV. [See references quoted by Edgerton, *Studies in Honour of Maurice Bloomfield* 128, and note. But the contrary view is set forth there by the writer. As to this particular pāda, Ppp. agrees with RV. on *glāpayanti*, and is followed by Whitney in his Translation. Certainly *glāpayanta* is secondary. F.E.]

annādāyānnapatyāyā dādhat Kauś.: *annādam annādāyāpādadhe* (KS. *annādāyānnapatyāyādadhe*) TS. KS.: *annādam agnim annapatyāyādadhe* MS.: *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ.: *agnim annādam annādāyāyādadhe* VS.

Present Indicative and Optative (Precative) in principal clauses

§121. The optative, a rather indifferent wish mood, stands, perhaps, more in the center of the entire sphere of modality than any other mood. This accounts to some extent for its survival in the later language as the heir of most of the *modi subjunctivi*. It is, as we shall see (§169), on terms of lively reciprocity with the subj., being, however, rarer than the subj. in the metrical parts of the Veda. With the present ind. it alternates only in a moderate number of cases, especially as compared with the impv.; cf. our remarks on the latter mood above. The present makes here, as usual, the impression of greater certainty or insistence. An occasional precative, interchanging with an indicative, is included at the end of the following list. Noticeable to begin with are half a dozen cases in which indicatives and optatives of the root *hā* 'call' interchange:

maruṭraṇtaṁ sakhyāya havāmahe (SV.† *huvemahi*) RV. SV. '(Indra) with the Maruts do (would) we call unto alliance.'

taṁ (RV. omits) *sarasvantaṁ avase huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*, RV. KS. *johavāma*) RV. RVKh. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agnim (AV. *ukthair*, MahānU. *ugraṁ*) *huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*) *paramāi sadhasthāi* AV. TA. MahānU. 'Agni (the mighty one; with songs) we (would) call from the highest seat.' AV. is metrically inferior.

ṛtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

prātaraṇitāṁ bhagum ugraṁ huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. N.

prātaḥ somam uta rādram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

In these it will be noted that AV. markedly prefers the form *havāmahe*. The remaining cases are:

(*asyeḍ indro madesy ā*) *grābham grbhāṇāli* (RV. *grbhāṇāli*) *sānasim* RV. SV. 'When exhilarated by this very (soma) Indra makes (shall make) a victorious (rich) haul.' *grbhāṇāli* may also be regarded as injunctive or augmentless preterite.

so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS.† *sandmy agneḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. '(May) I here gain substance, O Agni (KS., Agni's substance).'

The KS. variant is interesting; changing the voc. to a gen. it makes it no longer a direct address to the god, and therefore less in tune with the optative mood.

indravanto vandāmahe (PB. *vanemahi*) TS. PR.

vicitir vīśāñgūh sāha sam bhavāmi (AV. *bhavema*) AV. MŚ. 'I (may we) come into being with all sound-limbed persons.'

ubhan lokau sanem (MŚ. *sanamy*) *aham* TB. TAA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Both worlds (may) I obtain.' *sanem* is a strange form; see Whitney, *Roots*, s. v. *san*.

idam pīrbhyaḥ pra bhārāmi (TA. *bharema*) *berhiḥ* AV. TA.

nāhīprāpuoti (MŚ. **pnuyur*) *nīrtīm paricaiḥ* (AŚ. MŚ. *parastāi*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

nṛcakṣam tē deva soma sūcakṣā avā khyeṣam (MŚ. *kṣeṣam*) TS. MŚ.: *nṛcakṣam tē nṛcakṣāḥ pratikṣe* ŚŚ.

harīṣmantah sadam iṣṭiḥ haviṣmahe RV. VS. SMB. ŚvetU.: *harīṣmanto namasī vidhema te* TS. MS. KS. TAA. The final pāda of a verse to Rudra is here modulated in four YV. texts, probably under the influence of the RV. pāda, *harīṣmanto vidhema te*.

evam aham āyusā... samindhe (SMB. *samedhiṣṭya*) SMB. PG. 'Thus (may) I become aflame (thrive) with life' etc. Cf. with active (causative) impv., *evam mām āyusā... samedhaya* ApMB. HG. 'Thus make me thrive with life.' See §238.

yad agnēḥ sēndroṣya... aham agne saravratō bhavāmi svāhā AG.: *yad brāhmarūnāh... tenāham saravratō bhūyāsam* ApMB.

ny aham tam mṛdyāsam yō 'amān dṛeṣṭi etc. MS.: *idam aham tam nīmṛdāmi yō 'amān dṛeṣṭi* etc. KS. 'I (would) crush (here) him that hates us.'

vīśā obhīṣṭiḥ pṛtanā joyati MŚ.: *vīśā hi bhūyāḥ pṛtanā obhīṣṭiḥ* TS. *asmin aham sahasram puṣyāmi* ApMB.: *asmin sahasram puṣyāsam* (Kauś. *puṣyāma*) ŚB. BṛhU. Kauś.

Interchange between Present Indicative and various modal forms in dependent (mostly relative) clauses

§122. The same interchange between present indicatives and various moods occurs on a smaller scale in dependent clauses, most of which are relative. The indicative states the fact, the modal forms assume it with various kinds or degrees of potentiality. The difference is the same as in principal clauses: bluff assumption on the one hand, prayerful uncertainty on the other. The various moods all figure, but the subjunctive is here decidedly the most frequent (see Dellbrück, *AltSyntax* 317ff.), approaching frequently a future value. Imperatives are rare, and 2d person imperatives seem not to occur at all; cf. the shift between *mādayasva svarṇare* RV. 8. 103. 14, 'delight thyself in the house of Svarṇara', with *yad... mādayāse svarṇare*, RV. 8. 65. 2, 'when thou

delightest thyself in the house of Svarnara'; see §95, note 11. Cf. further the variant *sā no dadātu...*, *yā no dadāti...*, §116, end.

Present Indicative and Imperative in dependent clauses

§123. As we have just said, the impv. in dependent clauses is rare: it is to some extent supported by injunctive forms, and first person subjunctives, which may equally well be considered imperatives (see below):

(ye) *sevadanti* (MS. TB. °tu; MS. p.p. °ti) *devā ubhayāni havyā* (TB. Poona ed. absurdly, *havyāh*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. 'The gods who (shall) enjoy both sorts of oblations.'
[*yāni* (ApMB. * *tāni*) *bhadrāṇi bijāṇy* (HG. *yāni prabhāni vīryāṇy*)] *ṛṣabhā janayanti* (HG. ApMB. * °tu) *naḥ* (AV. *ca*, ApMB. * *nau*) AV. ApMB. (bis) HG. Only in HG. is the impv. found in a relative clause; ApMB. has *tāni... janayantu nau*, but *yāni... janayanti naḥ*. HG. may be a blend of these two. 'Which (these) excellent seeds (or the like) bulls (shall) produce for us.'

Present Indicative and Subjunctive in dependent clauses

§124. In these cases, which are quite common, the subjunctive, as we have observed above, often approaches the sphere of the future.

[*yo no maruto abhi* (AV. KS. *yo no maruto maruto*; TS. *yo no maruto vasavo dushṛṇāyus*] *tīraś ciltāni* (KS. ms. *ciltā*, em. by v. Schroeder to *ciltāni*) *vasavo jighāṇēti* (TS. *īraḥ satyāni maruto jighāṇēti*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. 'Whatever hostile mortal desires (shall desire) to slay us' etc. The stanza is otherwise *triṣṭubh*; TS. makes this *pāda* metrically consistent with the rest.

yad āham dhanena prapaṇāṇē carāmi ApMB.: *yad vo devāḥ prapaṇāṇē carāma* HG.: *yena dhanena prapaṇāṇē carāmi* AV.

agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma (TB. °maḥ) RV. TB. 'O Agni, take note of the oblation which we (shall) offer thee.' See §25.

taṁ dhūrva yaṁ vayan dhūrvāmaḥ VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *dhūrva taṁ yo 'smān dhūrvati* VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *yaṁ vayan dhūrvāma taṁ dhūra* (KS. *vayan dhūrvāmas taṁ ca dhūra*) MS. KS.: *dhūra dhūran-taṁ yo asmān dhūrvati* MS. 'Injure him whom we (may) injure', '...who (shall) injure us', or the like.

yaṁ dīṣṇāma taṁ sa ṛchati RV.: *yaṁ dīṣṇāma taṁ ṛchati* AV.

yena yamaṣya (AV. *yamaṣya yena*, TB. ApŚ. *yamaṣya*, om. *yena*) *nidhina* (AV. TS. TB. ApŚ. *balina*) *carāmi* (MS. MS. *carāvaḥ*,

SMB.† *carāṇi*) AV. TS. MS. TB. TA. ApS. MŚ. SMB.

devān yaññīyān iha yān yajāmahaī (TS. *havidmahe*) TS. MS. KS.

avasyantam muñcatam yān no asti (AV. *asat*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

yas tad veda svituh (MahānU. *sa pituh*) *pitāsat* TA. MahānU.: *yas tāni veda sa pituh* (VS. *pituh*) *pitāsat* AV. VS.: *yas tā vijānāt sa pituh* *pitāsat* RV. AV. TA. N.

yathāham uttaro 'sāni (HG. *vadāmi*) AV. HG. 'That I may be (speak) superior.'

yo aghāyur abhidāsai AV.: *yo māghāyur abhidāsati* TB.

yo na indraedyā mītrāvaruṇā... abhidāsati bhrātṛya... idam aham tam adharāṃ pādāyāmi TS.: *yo na mītrāvaruṇā abhidāsati sapatno bhrātṛyaḥ... idam* etc. MS. 'The rival who contends (shall contend) against us... him do I here lay low.'

yo maitaryā diho abhidāsād agnīm vā ṛchatu MS.: *agnīm sa ṛchatu* *yo maitaryai* (KS.† *'syā*) *diḥo 'bhidāsati* KS. ApS.: *agnīm sadīkām devām... ṛchatu* *yo...* *'bhidāsati* TB. The same with *indram*, *maruṭah*, *mītrāvaruṇau*, and *somam*.

yam sarve 'nuṣṭrēma TS.: *yam bahavo 'nuṣṭvān* MS.: *yam bahavo upajīvanī* AŚ.

[*yathāham asya vīrasya* (AV. *esām vīrāyāṃ*, cf. RV. 10. 174. 5c)] *vīrājāni janasya* (ApMB. *vīrājāni dhīnasya*) *cā* RV. AV. ApMB. 'That I (may) control this man (these men) and his (their) folk (wealth).'
rayīm yena vanāmahaī (SV. *'he*) RV. SV. 'Thru whom we (may) obtain wealth.'

yena jāyanti (TB. *jayāsi*) *na parā jāyante* (TB. *jayāsi*) AV. TB. '(Indra) thru whom men conquer (thou mayest conquer), are (be) not conquered.'

yena bhūyāś caraty ayaṃ, jyok cā paśyati sūryaḥ, tena te vapāmy āyuse MG.: *yena bhūyāś caraty ayaṃ, jyok cā paśyati sūryam, tenasyāyuse vopā* ApMB. 'With (the razor) by which he shall live on and long behold (be beheld by) the sun, with that I shear thee (shear thou him unto long life.' And others, see §§330, 337.

(*keva tyāni nāu sakhyā bābhūvuh*) *sacāvahe* (MS. *'hai*, p.p. *'he*) *yad arkaḥ purā cit* RV. MS. But *sacāvahe* may possibly be also subj.; see § 253. Cf. Delbrück, *op. cit.* 278.

In one not certain case we find this interchange in an interrogative clause which gives the effect of a conditional clause:

(*apām napād āsuhemā kurit sa*) *supetasas karati* (KS. *karati*; but v. l. *karati*) *joṣiṣad dhī* RV. MS. KS. ApS. 'Will the Son of the Waters

... adorn (my songs), so as to enjoy them?' That is to say, 'if he will adorn them, he will enjoy them.' The present *karoti* is secondary, if not corrupt.

In a lest clause the same variation occurs (cf. Delbrück 316f., 545):
mā mā hāsān (MS. *hāsān*) *nāthito net* (MS. *na*) *teā jahāni* (MS. **mā*)
 AV.† KS. MS. 'Let him not, implored, abandon me, lest I (may) abandon thee!': *mā na hāsān metthito net teā jahāma* TB. ApS.; *mā na hāsān dhīneito dadhāmi* (some mss. omit *dadhāmi*) *na teā jahāmi* AS.

Present Indicative and Injunctive in dependent clauses

§125. The few cases noted of this interchange all show injunctive forms which are formally indistinguishable from imperatives; and of course, as usual, they might also be construed as augmentless preterites: (*kīraṇyayā arāṇi*) *yam nirmanthato aśvinā* (SB. BṛhU. *yābhyām nirmanthatām aśvināu devau*) RV. SB. BṛhU. ApMB. HG. MG. '(The foetus) which the Aśvins drill out with their golden drill', or 'the two golden drills with which the Aśvins shall drill out (the foetus)', etc. *yā rājānā* (TS. **nām*) *saratham yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS. MS. KS. *yāta*: *yātha* may be merely phonetic; see §21.

ubhe yat teā bhānato rodasī anu (SV. *teā rodasī dhātātām anu*) RV. SV.

Furthermore, some variants quoted under Present Indicative and Subjunctive have forms which might be considered 1st person Injunctive as well as Subjunctive; e.g. *yam dṛiṣṇuz* (*dveṣāma*) etc.; see §124.

Present Indicative and Optative in dependent clause

§126. In one somewhat doubtful instance:

yatra devaiḥ sadhamādam madanti (MS. TB. *madama*) AV. MS. TB. 'Where they revel (we may revel) in common revelry with the gods.' Cf. *athā* (TB. also *yathā*) *devaiḥ sadhamādam madama* KS. TB. ApS. But the comm. on AV. 18. 4. 10 reads *madama*; the isolated *madanti* is somewhat suspicious, see Whitney's note.

II. PRETERITES IN INTERCHANGE WITH MOODS

§127. We have used the term 'temperamental' more than once in the preceding pages, to describe the uses of the categorical indicative that really carry within them modal values of various kinds and degrees. The Vedic poets show even greater keenness of feeling in their use of preterite indicatives where they really experience moods. Especially is this true of the aorist, which is typically used to denote an accom-

plished fact within the range of the speaker's own knowledge, so that it is a favorite mode of confident assertion, especially of recent events (Delbrück, *Alttempuslehre* 6; Renou 29). Altho the imperfect, perfect, and past passive participle all appear commonly enough in interchange with moods, the aorist is the commonest of all. This kind of aorist, especially common in the literature of magic and conjuration, has been called with some propriety 'prophetic aorist.' So some texts say:

añjasaṁ satyam upāgam MS. KS. 'I have speedily attained unto truth!'

But the majority, nine in number, use an optative aorist:

añjasaṁ satyam upa geyam VS. TS. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. ŚG. 'May I speedily attain unto truth!' And this variant is a valuable commentary on the aorist indicative of the other texts; it really means only that such is the speaker's earnest and insistent desire. Or, again, one text says:

candramā nakṣatrain annu tvēti KS. (aor. indic.), 'The moon with the constellations has helped thee along.' Another text, using the imperative, says:

candramā nakṣatrain annu tvēatu TB. 'Let the moon with the constellations help thee along.'

§128. It is worth mentioning that sometimes the same text contains expressions with both verbal forms. Thus in the reciprocal *ūha* formulas ŚB. 3. 4. 3. 9 and 3. 6. 3. 21 *annu me dikṣām dikṣāpatir manyatām* (*amanata*), 'the Lord of Consecration shall favor (has favored) my consecration.' Or MS. 1. 2. 14 and 4. 13. 8 *prithivīm upareṇa drūha* and *pr^o upareṇādrūhā*, 'steady thou (it has steadied) the earth with thy (its) base.' These show more definitely how close to each other are the two types of expression.

§129. The considerable list which we have classed as preterites with and without augment (§§206ff.) may also contain some cases in which the augmentless form is really modal, and thus belong here.

As in the case of the present variants, we have separated those which occur in principal clauses from those in subordinate clauses.

§130. Aorist Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

ā na āgam (AV. *aitu*; KS. *seyam āgād*) *varcasā saṁnidāna* AV. TS. KS. TB. 'She hath come (let her come) to us endowed with luster.'

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS. *āroha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'The eye of Sūrya I have mounted (mount thou).'

sām āpo adbhīr agmāta VS. TS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Waters have commingled with waters:' *sām āpa opadhībhir gachantām* MS. 'Let waters commingle with plants.'

syonām āsulam suśādam āśadam LŚ.: *syonām āśida suśādam āśida* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I have seated myself (sit thou) on (a throne that is) fair, (that is) a pleasant seat.' See Cane, under each half of the formula.

vignas tvākrāṣṭa (VS. ŚB. *tvā kramatām*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ.

tucīm te (SV. *ca*) *varṇam adhi goṣu dīdhuram* (SV. *dhāraya*) RV. SV.

ud asau sūryo agāt RV. AV.: *ud asau etu sūryaḥ* TB.

agnir janavin mahyam jāyām imām adāt Kauś. 'Agni who obtains people hath given me this woman to wife': *agnir janitā sa me 'mām jāyam dadātu* ŚG. 'May Agni the begetter give me yonder woman to wife.' Similarly with *pūṣā jālin*, and *soma varuvin* (*janimān*). *ā teḍhārṇam antar abhūh* (RV. AG. Rvidh. *edhi*) RV. AV. TS. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AG. Rvidh. 'I have brought thee hither; thou hast entered (enter thou) within.'

annapate 'nasya (*annasya*) *no dēhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. PrānūG. AG. ŚG. MĠ. ApMB.: *āhaye 'nasya no dēhi* Kauś.: *unnasyānnapatih prādāt* PB.

akartām āśvinā lakṣma AV.: *kṛṇutām lakṣmāśvinā* AV. The second precedes the first in the adjoining stanza; there is this time a clearly intended difference of meaning. 'O Aśvins, make (the Aśvins have made) the mark.' So also in the next.

āśvinā gharman pātām (MS. *pibatām*). . VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.: (in the sequel) *apātām āśvinā gharman* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. LŚ.: *gharmana apātām āśvinā* MS. TA. ApŚ. Deliberate modulation with change of sense; as in prec. See §320.

dharmavā vāyur ā viśa (SV. *āruhaḥ*) RV. SV.

akaram pūruṣu priyam RVKh.: *karotu pūruṣu priyam* HG.: *pūruṣu priyam kuru* ApMB. 'I have made (let it make; make thou) [me] dear among the Pūrus.' See §302.

punah prāṇaḥ punar ātmā na (MS. TB. ApŚ. HG. *punar ākūtam*, TA. *punar ākūtam na*, MĠ. *punar ākūtir*) *agāt* (VS. ŚB. *āgān*, AV. MĠ. *aitu*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. HG. MĠ.

mṛdho vy āsthad abhayaṁ na astu TB.: *vy āsthan mṛdho abhayaṁ te abhūt* AV.

janīṣṭa (TS. *janīṣṭā*, MS. 'ṣṭa) *hi janyo agre ahnām* RV. TS. MS. KS. 'He has been (be thou) born, noble, at the break of days.'

anu ma idam vratam vratapatir manyatām MS.: *anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir*

- manyatām (KS. °patayo manyadheam; ŚB.* °patir amanata)... VS.
TS. KS. GB. ŚB. (bis) Vaji.
- idam varco (AŚ. rādho) agninā dattam āgāt (AV. āgan) AV. MS. TB.
AŚ.: ā mā varco 'gninā dattam elu KS.
- (yathā kam ca lokam agan yajñas) tato me bhādrām abhāt VS. ŚB.: (yatra
kva ca yajño 'gāt) tato mā draviṇam aṣṭu ŚB.: tato mā draviṇam aṣṭu
(AB. āṣṭa) VS. AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See Conc. under draviṇam tṛṣṇyam,
antarikṣam tṛṣṇyam, and pṛthivīm tṛṣṇyam, with their correspondents.
'(To whatsoever place the sacrifice has gone,) thence welfare has
come to me (thence let wealth reach me).'
- indra vājam ajayit TS. TB.: indra vājam jaya VS. MS. KS. ŚB.
- annam me puriṣya pāhi (and, puriṣyājugupah) Kauś. (both): annam
me (no) budhya (budhya) pāhi tan me (no) gopāyātmakam punar
āgamāt MS. ApŚ.: annam me (no) budhyājugupas (budhya°) tan
me (no) punar dehi MS. ApŚ.
- saprattha (MŚ. °thah) sabhān me gopāya (MŚ. pāhi, and 'jugupah)
TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (bis): sabhya sabhām me pāhi AV.
- sarvām tām bhāsmasā (TS. ŚB. masmasā) kuru VS. TS. ŚB.: sarvān tām
maṣmasā (MS.† mṛsmṣā) kuru MS. KS.† TA.: sarvān nī maṣmaṣā-
karam AV. 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like.
- trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MŚ. °gah) VS. MS. ŚB.: samasṛpa-
(KS. °pan) trīn samudrān svargān (ApŚ. vargān lokān) KS. ApŚ.
- pṛthivīm upareṇa dṛakha TS. MS.: pṛ° upareṇādṛakhi (MS. TB. KS.*
°hāt) VS. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. TB.
- varca ā dhehi me tanvam (KS. dhāyī me tanāh) AV. KS. 'Set luster in
my body'; 'My body has been set in luster'.
- mayi dhāyī (MS. dhehī) suvīryam MS. TB. TA.
- puyasvān (TS. TB. ApMB. °vāh) agna āgamam AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
JB. ŚB. TB. IŚ. ApMB.: puyasvān agna āgahi RV.
- tām (TS. KS. tam vāh) supṛitam subhṛitam akarma (KS. abhārgam, VS.
bibhṛta) VS. TS. KS. 'This (embryo) we (I) have made (main-
tained; maintain ye) pleasant and well-maintained (for you).'
- abhūr gṛṣṇinām (with variants) abhiśastipāṇā (AV. °pā u) AV. HG.
ApMB.: bhavā kṛṣṇinām (AV. mss. gr°) abhiśastipāṇā (AV. °pā u)
AV. PG. ApMB. HG.
- devas te savitā hastam gṛhṇātu AV.: savitā hastam agrahāt (ŚG. agrabhāt)
AV. ŚG. SMB.: savitā te hastam agrabhāt (AG. °bhāt asau; MG.
agrahāt) AG. ApMB. HG. MG.
- sakhāyāḥ sapṭapadā abhūva TB. ApŚ.: sakhāyau sapṭapadāu abhūva
ApMB. (corruptly, °dā babhūva) HG.: sakhā sapṭapadī (ApMB.
°dā) bhava AG. ŚG. Kauś. ApMB. SMB.

paśūn me (ApŚ. * *nah*) *śaśya pāhi* MS. ApŚ. MS.: *paśūn me* (ApŚ. * *nah*) *śaśyājugupah* (ApŚ. * *jūg**) MS. ApŚ. MS. And other formulas in the same passages.

§131. *Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses*

jeṣaḥ (and, *jeṣat*, *ajaiḥ*) *warentir apah* RV. (all). 'Thou shalt win (he shall win; thou hast won) the waters rich in light.' See *RVRep.* 39.

ā *dadhuah kalasair* (ApMB. °*śir*; MG. °*śam*) *aguh* (AG. ApMB. *ayan*; ŚG. *gaman*, PG. *upa*, HG. *ayann iva*, MG. *airayam*) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. 'With mugs of sour milk they have (shall) come', or the like.

anyāvākṣāḍ (VS. *anyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryāni* VS. TB. 'The other hath brought (shall bring) boons and treasure.'

vṛṣṭva cakradad (and, *eukrado*) *vane* RV.; *vṛṣṭo acikradad vane* SV. The RV. forms are counted as perfect subjunctives; see §272.

sakhāya ā śiṣamahi (AV. SV. °*he*) RV. AV. SV. AA. ŚŚ. AŚ.

Aorist Indicative and Injunctive in principal clauses

§132. If the injunctive forms varying with presents (above) and with other modal forms (below) are apt to be doubtful because also interpretable as augmentless preterites, this is a *fortiori* true of such as vary with augmented past forms. There is, indeed, really nothing that can decide in such a case, whether to regard the augmentless form as a preterite or an injunctive; since, as we have now abundantly seen, the 'true' preterites may be used just as well as modal forms in any situation. Hence, we have preferred to keep most such interchanges in one group, and have classified them below under augmented and augmentless preterites (§264ff.); in this place we add merely one or two instances chosen on more or less subjective grounds, which seem rather more likely than most to contain modal value:

anu (MS. adds *mām*, TA. *van*) *dyāvāprthivī* (MS. adds *anu me*) *amāṣ-
atām* (TA. also *maṁs*°; MS. 'maṁsā', p.p. *amāṁsā*°) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. (bis) ŚŚ. LŚ. 'Heaven and earth have favored (shall favor) me.' In adjoining passages in TA.

pūṣā mādhat (AV. *mā dhāt*, MS. *nā ādhāt*) *sukṛtasya loke* AV. TS. MS. KS. 'Pūṣan hath placed (shall place) me in the world of pious deed.'

ardhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS. ŚB. 'dhvāra āsthāt, KS. 'dhvare śthāh, ApŚ. *adhvare athāt*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'The sacrifice has stood

straight': 'stand thou upright on the sacrifice.' On ApŚ.'s reading see §337.

pra tīry (TS. *prāṭīry*) *agne prataram* (TS. **rām*) *na dyuh* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. 'O Agni, may our life be (our life has been) extended further.'

§133. *Aorist Indicative and Optative (Precative) in principal clauses*
devasya (*devasyāham*, VSK. *devasya vyaṁ*) *savituh prasave* (*savo*)...
ruheyam (GB. *rohayam*, VSK. *ruhema*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.
 GB. ŚB. TB. Vait. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.:...*aruham* VS. ŚB.:...*aruhāma*
 VSK.

āditya nāvam ārukṣah (AVTpp. *āruham*; SMB. *ārukṣam*) AV. SMB.:
sūrya nāvam ārukṣah AV.: *īmān eva nāvam* (read, *sundāsam*?) *āruham*
 TS. KS. ApŚ.: *sundāsam āruheyam* VS. 'O sun, thou hast (I have)
 mounted the ship'; 'I have mounted (may I mount) this good
 ship.'

upāśūnā sam amṛtātām ānaḥ (ApMB. *alyām*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA.
 MahānU. ApŚ. ApMB. 'By the (soma) plant he hath reached
 (may I reach) immortality.'

abhūn mama (KS. *na nah*) *sumatau viśvavedāḥ* TS. KS. PG. '(Agni) the
 all-possessing has become in a good humor towards me'; *bhāpāma*
te sumatau viśvavedāḥ (so MS. intends, by its regular sandhi; text
 **dā*, followed by vowel) MS. 'May we be in thy favor, O all-pos-
 sessing (Agni).' Of the item *bhāpāma te sumatau*... in Conc.

tad aśya priyam abhi pātho alyām (TB. *asthām*) RV. MS. AB. TB. AŚ.
 'May I attain (I have reached) that dear place of his.' But
 Poona ed. of TB., text and comm., reads *alyām*.

grāvāvadīd (ApŚ. *grāvā vaded*) *abhi somasyānāsum* (ApŚ. **śunā*) KS.
 ApŚ. But von Schroeder reads in KS. *grāvā vaded*, with v. 1
grāvāśādīd.

§134. *Aorist Indicative and Future in principal clauses*

agnim eve yonā (VSK. MS. KS. *yonā*) *abhār* (ApŚ. *yonan bharisyaty*)
ukhā VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'The pot hath borne
 (shall bear) Agni in her own womb.'

paridhāsyai paśo dhāsyai PG.: *paridhāsyai yako dhāsyai* MG.: *paridam*
vāso adhidhāḥ (HG. *adhidhāḥ*, ApMB. *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV. HG.
 ApMB. The forms *-dhāsyai* (*-dhāsyai*) are uncertain; perhaps
 infinitives. See §177.

tvām eva pratyakṣam brahma vadisyāmi (and, *brahmāvadigam*) TA. TU.
 (both in each).

§135. Aorist Indicative and Desiderative in a principal clause

na yas chūdreṣv alapsata (ŚŚ. alipsata) AB. ŚŚ. 'Which they (one) would not find (even) among śūdras.' *alipsata*, imperf. desid.; *alapsata*, 3 pl. aor. ind.; Keith on AB. 7. 17. 3 suggests reading *alapsyata*, conditional.

§136. Imperfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

mahyam āpo madhumaṁ erayantām (KS. airayanta) AV. KS. Kauś. 'To me the waters shall send (sent) what is sweet.'

pr̥thēṣv erayā (SV. airayaṁ) rayim RV. SV.

praty nuhatām (MS. āh^a) āśvinā mṛtyum asmāt (AV. asma) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'The Aśvins swept (shall sweep) away death from him (us).' *āhatām* may, of course, be augmentless imperfect, or injunctive.

tvām gāva vṛṇata rājyāya TS. MS.: tvām viśo vṛṇatām rājyāya AV. 'Thou the cows (clans) chose (shall choose) for kingship.'

pāhi (TS. ApMB. āvaḥ) kṣema uta yoge varam naḥ RV. TS. PG. ApMB. MG.

sath devā (KS. devā) deryorvaśyā paśyuṣva (KS. °orvaśyākhyata) TS. KS. ApŚ.

vapīm te agnir iṣito arohat (TS. iṣito 'va sarpatu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. vy uchā (and, aucho) dukhitar divaḥ RV. SV. (both in both texts).

asmān rāya uta yajñāḥ (KS.† yajñāḥ) sacantām TS. KS. ApŚ.: asmān rāyo maghavānaḥ sacantām RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: yugmān rāya uta yajñā asācata MS.

āzann ā (SV. PB. āsan naḥ) pātram janayanta (KS. °ta) devāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *janayanta* may be, less probably, injunctive.

dikṣāpālāya vanatam (PB. °pālebhya °vanatam) hi śakrā TB. AŚ. But see §266.

uṣṇena vāya udakenahi (SMB. GG. udakenaidhi, ApMB. vāyav udakenahi, MG. vāyur udakenet) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. 'With warm water come, O Vāyu (Vāyu came, or the like).' But the MG. reading is a more than dubious imperf.; if not merely corrupt, it is likely that it contains the particle *id*.

sarasvatyā (AV. °tyām) adhī manāḥ (AV. manāḥ, read manāḥ; KS. mānā; SMB. vanāva) acakṛguḥ (KS. acakṛguḥ; SMB. cakṛdhī) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. '(This barley) they have plowed (plow thou) on the Sarasvatī (for Sarasvatī) in behalf of Manu', or the like. But Jørgensen, text and comm., reads *manāḥ*.

acarkṣuḥ for SMB; and KS. has a v. l. *manā acarkṣuḥ*. Probably these are the true readings.

§137. *Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses*

ā vo rohito atṛṇod abhidyaṇaḥ (AV. **taḥ ṛṇaval audāṇavaḥ*) AV. TB. 'Rohita listened (shall listen) to you, heavenly (liberal) ones.'

jātaḥ prchad (SV. *prchād*) *vi mātaram* RV. SV. 'As soon as born he asked (shall ask) his mother.' Cf. *vi prchad iti mātaram* RV. See §9.

pibāḥ somam amadany (AV. *somam mamadad*) *enam iṣṭayaḥ* (AV. *iṣṭe*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May he drink the soma, the sacrifices have exhilarated him (may it exhilarate him at the sacrifice).'

āyann (TB, *āyann*) *arīdhāni kṛṇavann apāṇsi* RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. The parallel *kṛṇavan* is a guarantee of the secondariness of *āyann* (or is the proverb *ā* contained in it?).

duraś ca vīśā avṛṇod upa wāḥ RV. : *turaś cid vīśam arṇaval tapasvān* AV. The latter is grossly corrupt.

yo mā dadāti sa id eva māwāḥ (ArS. NṛpU. *māvat*) ArS. TB. TA. TU. NṛpU. N. 'Who gives me, he verily shall help (? has helped) me.' The form *wāḥ* or *āwāḥ* is very obscure and probably harbors a corruption. TB, comm. *āvṛṇoti* (apparently understanding it as a 3d sing. s-aor. of *ā-ṛ*); TA, comm. *awati*, taking it from *av*, but without any suggestion as to how the form is understood. A 3d person seems required.

§138. *Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive in a principal clause*

opah prerayam (SV. *prairayat*, TB. *prāirayan*) *śagarasya budhnāt* RV. SV. TB. 'Let me send (he, or they, sent) forth (songs as) water from the basin of the ocean.' See §323. But *prerayam* may be indicative.

§139. *Perfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses*

nī hotāram viśvarīdam dadhidhve RV. : *nī hotāram gṛhapatīm dadhidhvam* SV. 'Ye have established (Agni) as all-wise hotar'; 'establish ye (perfect imperative) as hotar and house-lord.'

sa naḥ pīto (1) *madhumān ā vīśa* Kauś. (secondary), 'This honeyed food hath entered us'; *sa naḥ pīto madhumān ā vīśa* KS. 'O food, enter us here, honeyed': *sa na mayobhūḥ pīto āvīśa* (ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jørgensen] *pītar āvi*), AŚ. *pītar āvīśa*) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG. See §69.

īreva dhanvan ni jajāsa te viṣam AV. 'Like fluid on a waste hath thy poison (disappeared)'; *sarve sākam ni jasyata* RV. 'Do ye all together disappear.' The parallel is remote except for the use of the verbs.

rāk tvā samudra upadadhātu (ApŚ, °dādhe) . . KS. ApŚ.

rudro samubhir ā cake (TS. *ciketu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Rudra with the Vasus hath loved (shall attend to) us.'

§140. Perfect Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses

(in half the cases, the subjunctive is from a perfect stem)

sa viśvā prati cākṣpe AV.; *sa viśvāṃ prati cākṣat* AŚ. ŚŚ. 'He hath shaped himself into (he shall shape) everything.'

vavakṣa (SV. °kṣat) *sadyo mahi dūtyam caran* RV. SV. 'He (Agni) hath grown (shall grow) straightway, going upon his great mission.' But SV. may be regarded as augmentless pluperfect.

nādhr̥ṣa ā dadhr̥ṣate (AA. *dadhr̥ṣa*, ŚŚ. *dadhr̥ṣayā*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. 'He is not to be dared against; (his might) dares (shall dare)'. *dadhr̥ṣate* is perfect subjunctive; *dadhr̥ṣayā* appears to be a perfect from the causative stem, used in primary sense; see §241. Cf. Whitney on AV. 6. 33. 2 and Keith on AA. 5. 2. 1. 3.

manhīṣtho gīrbhir ā ca yajñāyo varartat (SV. *vararta*) RV. AV. SV. TB. '(Indra) most liberal, fit for sacrifice, (induced) by our songs, shall turn (has turned) hitherward.' Poona ed. of TB. 'varartat, as if pluperfect.

sa no nedīṣṭham (TS. MS. °ṣṭhā, VS. ŚB. *viśvānī*) *havunāni joṣat* (TS. *joṣate*; MS. *havanā jujoṣa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *joṣat* and *joṣate* are both aor. subj.

anyad yuṣmākam antaram babhūva (TS. *bhuvati*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. 'Something else has arisen (shall arise) between you.'

ayasā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayā san* (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāḥ san*, and so ApMB. comm. explains; KS. *ayāḥ san*, Kauś. *ayāḥ san*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApMB. ApŚ. Kauś. HG.: *ayā no yajñam vahāsi* KŚ. 'Being nimble thou hast carried the oblation (carry the sacrifice).'

sarvam āyur vy ānake (MS. *ānavai*) MS. TB. ApŚ.: *viśvam āyur vy ānavai* (AV. mss. *ānavai*) AV. VS. KS. TB.: *dirgham āyur vy ānavai* PG. In AV. the vulgate reads *ānavam*; Whitney, on 19. 55. 6, would read *ānavan*; the reading of the mss. may be kept (subject *sabdhā*). The context is different from the others.

§141. *Perfect Indicative and Infinitive in a principal clause*

karṇābhyān bhūri vā brūvam (PG, *bhūri kṛbrūve*) TA. TŪ. PG.—TA. comm. *brūyāsam*. 'May I hear (I have heard, or I hear) abundantly with my ears.'

§142. *Perfect Indicative and Optative in principal clauses*

statāram id didhiṣya (SV. *dadhiṣe*) *rudrāso* RV. AV. SV. 'To the poet, verily, I should wish to share out wealth, O opener of wealth!' *didhiṣya* is opt. of desiderative. The SV. form is very obscure; Benfey (Glossar, p. 101) follows the comm. in taking it as 1st person aor. subj., but it seems more likely to be felt as a perfect ind., to be sure of anomalous formation (presumably quasi-desiderative). Cf. *grīṣe* of RV., treated by Whitney, *Roots*, as pres. ind. Both forms must in any case be 1st person.

parāvata (MS. *°tā*) & *jagānthā* (AV. *jagāmyāt*, TS. *jagāmā*) *parasyāh* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *jagāmyāt* is perfect opt.

indrasya sukhyam amṛtatvam akyām (RV. *ānāśa*) RV. TB. ApŚ. 'Ye have obtained (may I obtain, aor. opt.) the friendship of Indra (and) immortality.' Different contexts; in RV. in a relative clause, address to the Aṅgirasas.

Past Passive Participles interchanging with moods in principal clauses

§143. The same contrast, namely between more or less assumed confidence of statement and mere desire, is brought out by the interchange between a perfect passive participle, with or without copula, and a mood. The participle is thus pretty precisely in the place of the prophetic aorist. It is worth noting in this connection that the same participle also interchanges commonly with a present indicative (§246). For instance:

yunajmi vāyūm antarikṣeṇa (PB. *yukto vāto 'nta°*) *te* (MŚ. *tena*) *vāha* TS. PB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I yoke (yoked is) the wind with atmosphere for thee (or, with this atmosphere).'

Here the participle states the fact as accomplished in the strained sense of the prophetic aorist, while the present indicative has future modality of a lighter quality, optative, or the like. In essence such interchanges belong, for the most part, in the same sphere as the group now dealt with. By the same token modal value lurks often in the passages of present and past indicatives interchanging, §§221ff.

§144. Following is the brief list of past participles exchanging with moods (see also §104, w); all the modal forms are Imperatives but the last, an injunctive:

śam barhiḥ aṅtām (VS. ŚB. *aṅktām*; TB. ApŚ. *śam aṅktām barhiḥ*)
haviṣā gṛtēna AV. VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. 'The barhiḥ has been
 anointed (shall anoint itself, i.e. be anointed, see §87) with oblation,
 with ghee.' And, in the same stanza:

śam devair viśvadevebhīḥ aṅtām AV.: *śam indreṇa viśvebhīḥ devēbhīḥ* (VS.
 ŚB. *indro viśvadevebhīḥ*) *aṅktām* VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Cf. pres.:

tenēdhyasva vardharsa ceddha (HG. *ceddhi*) AG. HG. 'By this (firewood)
 burn and grow, thou that art kindled (and kindle!).'

gṛtēna ślā madhuna samektā (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *samajyatām*) AV. VS.
 TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'With ghee, with honey, the furrow has been
 (shall be) anointed.'

tan me rādhyatām (TB.* SMB.* *samradyatām*; VS.* TS.* TA.* 'rādhi;
 Kauś.* *samrddham*, and *rāddham*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. SŚ. MŚ.
 Kauś. SMB. All texts have *rādhyatām*, besides the variants as
 quoted. 'May this succeed (this has succeeded) for me.'

tān sma mānuṣyaṅkṛtāḥ AŚ.: *ete nānuvāṅkṛtāḥ* Vait. 'Do not say
vaṅat after these'; 'these are not followed by *vaṅat*.'

Interchange between Preterites and Modal forms in dependent and prohibitive clauses

§145. In quite a number of cases preterites of all sorts and modal forms interchange in dependent clauses. We have quoted above (§99) an example from the RV. itself: *yan nā samāsa mamadan yad ukthā* 4. 42. 6, *yan nā samāsa ukthino amandighā* 10. 48. 4. The tense commonly remains unchanged, but sometimes, as in the case just quoted, it is shifted without any restriction. The present class of variants does not differ in any essential from the group of interchanges between presents and modal forms in dependent clauses, §§122ff. We have included here a few cases of interchange between augmented and augmentless preterite indicative forms; they differ from the similar cases quoted below §268 only in so far that, on subjective grounds, there seem to us to be reasons for finding injunctive force in the augmentless forms quoted here. But no clear line can be drawn between the two groups, and perhaps it would have been better not to try to separate them; at least each must be considered together with the other.

(a) Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive:

yaś tū karad ekarṣam janānam AV. 'who shall make thee chief bull of the people'; so tadkar ekarṣabham svānam TB. 'he has made thee chief bull of thy kinsmen.'

yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā; and: yan mā somāsa ukthino aman-diṣu RV. (both). See §99.

(b) *Aorist Indicative and Injunctive:*

bhūyāsiso bhūyāsiso ye no bhūyaso 'karā MS. 'be ye more, ye who have made us more'; bhūyāsiso bhūyāsisma ye ca no bhūyasaḥ kārṣta Kauś. 'may we be more, and likewise ye who shall make us more.' But, of course, kārṣta may be a mere preterite in force. — The same with anādā bhū^o.

(c) *Imperfect Indicative and Imperative (? Injunctive):*

mṛtyoh padam (MG. padāni) yopayanto yad aita (TA. aima; AV. yopayanta-eta; MG. lopayante yad eta) RV. AV. TA. MG. 'When ye (we) came (come ye, AV.; when ye shall come? MG.) effacing the track of death.' AV., which lacks the conjunction yad, has clearly imperative; MG. is probably corrupt in yad eta, but eta may be understood as injunctive, or even anomalously as imperative, cf. §123; probably, however, read etad in MG., see §307.

(d) *Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive:*

(yam agne prtsu martyam) aś (TS. āvo) rājesu yam jundh RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'The mortal whom thou, Agni, shalt (didst) protect in battles, shalt promote in contests.' Note that all texts agree on jundh, which may be felt either as subj. or as augmentless imperfect. [yad adya hotrvarye (ŚŚ. °vārye)] jihmaḥ cakṣuḥ parāpatat (ŚŚ. °tat) ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'What today at the choice of hotṛ has escaped (may escape) the crooked (=faulty) eye.'

yad vāskandad dhaviṣo yatra-yatra Kauś. 'or what part of the oblation has dropped anywhere'; yad vā skandād ājyasyola viṣno TS. KS. 'moreover what part of the butter shall drop, O Viṣnu.'

ahū yad dyāvo (AV. devā) asuntīm ayan (AV. āyan) RV. AV. ayan seems most simply to be taken as subjunctive, rather than augmentless imperfect to present ayati.

[tīro yad agne śaradas tvām ic] chucim ghṛtēna śucayaḥ saparyān (TB. °yan) RV. TB. See §8.

(e) *Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive:*

śatam yo naś śarado 'nayat (MŚ. nayat) KS. MŚ. 'Who has brought (shall bring) us to a hundred autumns.' Favorable to injunctive interpretation are the readings of the parallel texts. TS. has an adjective ajitān for (a)nayat; the verb nayat occurs in the following

pāda, as it does also in SMB. PG. The Conc. reading for SMB. is *ajīdāt*, glossed *ajījanāt*; but Jørgensen's edition gives *ajīyāt*, glossed *ajīyāt* (*aja yatikṣepanayoh; . . gamayate ity arthah*). PG. has *jījan* (Stenzler: 'der uns hundert Jahre schaffe'). All these parallels suggest that even KS. probably has distinctly modal force in its 'nayāt'; and the habits of Indian mss. compel us to consider the writing of *avagraha* in its text of very dubious authority; possibly *nayāt*, injunctive, may be even KS.'s real reading.

(f) *Perfect Indicative and Subjunctive:*

yat te grānā cichiduh (MŚ. *vichindat*) *soma rājan* TB. Vait. MŚ. 'What with the press-stone they have (one may) cut off of thee, King Soma.' *vichindat* is apparently pres. subj. made irregularly from the weak stem, cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §687.
yat sāsahat (SV. *sāsāhā*, KS.† *sāsahat*) *sadane kaṁcid atriṇam* RV. SV. KS. 'Which shall (has) overcome every demon in his home.'

Augmentless and Augmented Prohibitives with mā

§146. In a few cases prohibitives, normally augmentless aorists, vary with augmented forms of the same or a similar tense-system; there is no room for change of meaning. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §579c. The type of augmented prohibitive lasts into Pāli, or is resumed there secondarily; see Jātaka 439 (Fausbøll IV. 1, line 15), *mā maṁ kiñci ducca*, 'do not tell me anything.'

braddhā ca no mā vyagamat ViDh. MDh. YDh. BṛhPDh. AuśDh.:
braddhā me mā vyāgāt ApŚ.

ganān me mā vi tīrṣaḥ (MŚ. °*yāt*) TS. MŚ.: *ganān me mā vy arīrīṣaḥ* Vait.: 'Do not make thirsty (injure) my troops.'

mā naḥ param adharam mā rajo 'naih (MŚ.† *param adhanam mā rajo naih*) TA. MŚ.: *mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaih* (corrupt) MS. Both editions of TA. agreeing on 'naih with *avagraha*, but little importance is probably to be attached to this; cf. §265.

mā no rudro (MS. *agnih*, p.p. *agnih*) *nīrtir mā no astā* (MS. *na āgtān*, followed by *vi-*, p.p. *āṣṭhām*) MS. TA. Both forms are dubious, but TA. apparently understands an augmentless 3d sing. mid. of *as* 'throw' (comm. *asyatu*), while MS. seems to understand an augmented form of *as* 'attain' (or, in spite of the p.p., the prefix *ā* may be contained).

§147. There is a single somewhat grotesque case of interchange between *Perfect Indicative and Injunctive in prohibitive (mā) clause:*

mā tē ke cīn nī (AV, *ke cid vī*) *yaman vīm* (SV, *ke cīn nī yemur in*, TA, *ke cīn nyemur in* [v. 1, and comm., as SV; so read or understand TA.]) *nā pāśinah* RV. AV. SV. VS. TA. 'Let not any hold thee in check as fowlers a bird.' SV. and TA are corrupt. *yemur* really belongs to a parallel categoric construction with *nā*, rather than *mā*. See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 283.

INTERCHANGES BETWEEN THE MOODS PROPER

§148. We now come to interchanges between the true or 'oblique' moods themselves, after sketching in the preceding pages their relation to the various indicatives. The reference-works on Sanskrit syntax define each mood by itself; they hardly attempt seriously to mark off the territory of one mood as compared with another. And this is wise. All the authorities recognize the freedom and indefiniteness of the use of moods. The impv., e.g., is a moderate mood of request; it includes not only command but instruction, advice, wish, and prayer, thus covering most of the sphere of the other moods. It would serve no useful purpose for us here to follow in the footsteps of the syntacticians and define precisely the uses of each modal category (see in general, and most conveniently, Delbrück, *Vergl. Synt. d. indg. Sprachen* 2, 346ff.). Rather do the following lists show the constancy of transition from one to another, than the peculiar function of any one of them. They represent links in a chain of modality which is scarcely broken by any peculiar use reserved for any one of them. We have also seen (§105) that tense-distinctions in the moods abound, but are totally without significance. Pres. subj. and aor. subj. are quite identical; precative (aor. opt.) has in the Veda purely optative value which does not in the least account for the aoristic element in its make-up. Even the prohibitive use of the injunctive with *mā* occasionally (the very rarely) yields to that of the imperative or even optative (§§159, 174, end). Nor is the preference for aorist, rather than present (imperfect), injunctive by any means a settled fact, as far as the Veda is concerned (§211). As far as we can observe, any one of the true moods may interchange with any other, certainly in principal sentences, but also to a considerable extent in subordinate clauses.

III. IMPERATIVE IN EXCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§149. The imperative, in addition to its very frequent reciprocity with indicatives (already treated), interchanges with subjunctive,

injunctive, optative, precative, future, and infinitive. This order is followed in the sequel. In addition, the class of mixed imperative-subjunctive forms, treated below (§173), contains cases which involve not only the proper subj., but also those mixed forms which are part impv. and part subj. And the second person modal forms in *si* and *se* (§§164f.), themselves classed as imperatives, alternate with regular impv. forms. Finally the impv. is used also, tho very rarely, as prohibitive with *mā*, exchanging with prohibitive injunctives (§159).

§150. The impv. in *tāi* shows in these interchanges a character in no wise different from that of the ordinary impv. See the relation of RV. 1. 48. 15 to 8. 9. 1, described above, §100, and several examples under the heading 'Instances of more than two modal varieties', §104. Cf. also the section on Imperatives in *tāi* exchanging with other Imperatives, §254.

Imperative and Subjunctive

§151. It will be convenient to assort this large group into three subdivisions: Imperative and Subjunctive without change of tense or person; without change of tense but with change of person; and with change of tense, with or without change of person.

§152. *Imperative and Subjunctive without change of tense or person*

ādityāś tad aṅgīrasaś cinvantu TB.: *viśve devā aṅgīrasaś cinvānu* KS, ApŚ. 'May the Ādityas (All-gods) and Aṅgīrases pile (that).'

vādaḥ paśāle (SV. *paśālām*) *atī vāram aṅyam* RV. SV. 'May the sweet (soma) strain itself thru the wool.'

sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MŚ. *vācam asmāt*) TS. MŚ.: *sā samnaddhā sanuḥi vājam enam* (MG. *sanuḥi bhāgadheyam*) AV.† MG.

sviptim naś tām (AV. erroneously, *tām*) *kṛṇavad* (TS. *kṛṇotu*) *vīśakarmā* (MS. *tām vīśakarmā kṛṇotu*) AV. TS. MS.

sa no mṛdāntīḥ RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N.: *te no mṛdānti idṛṣe* AV. (*vīkara* of the prec., used in same hymn): *tā no mṛdāta* (VSK. *mṛt*) *idṛṣe* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. KS.

vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā mā punātu AV.: *vaiśvānaraḥ paśayān nuḥ pavitraiḥ* TA.

te no raṅim sarvaṅvīraṁ nī yachān (HG. *yachantu*) AV. HG.

agnir havyaṁ (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayata*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ā siddāti (SV. *°atu*) *kalaham devayur naḥ* (SV. *deva induh*) RV. SV. *sarvaṁ punatā* (VDh. *punita*) *me pāpam* BDh. VIDh.

sarvaṁ punatha me yavāḥ BDh.: *taṁ punādhvaṁ* (and, *punādhvaṁ ca*)
yavā mama VIDh.

izāpārte (KS. °*taṁ*) *kṛṇavāthāvir* (VSK. ŚB. *kṛṇavāthāvir*, TS. KS.
 TB. MŚ. *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ. *asmāi*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB.
 ŚB. MŚ.: *izāpārtaṁ sma kṛṇutāvir asmai* AV.

punaḥ te prāva dyuti (AŚ. °*tu*, TS. † *dyuti*) TS. TA. AŚ.

brahmadviṣaṁ dyaur abhīsamtapāti AV.: *brahmadviṣaṁ abhī taṁ locata*
dyauḥ RV.

vasāni cārur (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG. *cāryo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB.
bhṛjāsi, v. L *bhajāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. HG. ApMB.
 The HG. reading is uncertain: see Whitney on AV. 19. 24. 6.

mama cittaṁ cittenāvehi HG.: *mama cittaṁ updyasi* AV. For other
 similar items see Conc.

idbhīr vahaiṇam (TA. *vahemam*; TB. ApŚ. *vahāsi mā*, om. *jābhīr*; KS. †
vahānsi sāt [read probably *vahāsi mā*]) *sukṛtāṁ pātra* (RV. AV.
 °*idm u*) *lokāḥ* (KS. *lokaḥ*, RV. AV. *lokam*) RV. AV. KS. TB. TA.
 ApŚ.

śivah śagmo bharāsi naḥ TB. ApŚ.: *śivā ca me śagmā caidhi* TB. ApŚ.
jarāṁ (AV. adds *su*) *gachāsi* (AV. PG. *gacha*) *pari dhātva vāsaḥ* AV.
 PG. ApMB. HG.

sa gharmam invāt (AV. *indhām*) *parame sadhashe* RV. AV.

idam me karmedāṁ śrīyaṁ putro 'nusamtanotu VSK. KS.: *idam me*
'yaṁ śrīyaṁ putro 'nusamtanavat ŚB.

saputrikāyāṁ jāgratha PG.: *yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ.

nihāraṁ ca harāsi (VSK. °*raṁ niharāsi*) *me* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *nihāraṁ in*
ni me hara (TS. † *harā*) TS. KS.

jyoh pītṛṣv āstām (and, *āsātāi*) AV. 'Sit she long with her fathers.'
 Both in the same hymn; a conscious *rikāra*.

uṣā no ahna ā bhajād (and, *ahne pari dadātu*) AV. (both)

śravad (and: *śrutāṁ*, *śravan*) *brahmāṇy āvaśā gamot* (and: *gatām*, *gaman*)
 ŚS. (all). 'Let him (them) hear the holy words and come with aid.'
 Here belongs also, presumably:

edhasva yamarājasu AV.: *edhāsam yamarājye* TA. The comm. on
edhāsam says, *edhasva varidhasva* (I). The Conc. suggests *edhāse*;
 both versions would then mean, 'thrive thou in the kingdom of
 Yama (among those whose king is Yama).'

*Imperative and Subjunctive, without change of tense but with change of
 person*

§153. The particular interest of this subdivision is that 2d person
 imperatives vary constantly with 3d person subjunctives. This alter-

nation goes back to RV. itself; see §§93, 95. Metrical convenience is often associated with the shift. A few examples of change of person also occur in the next subdivision.

yathāvasaṃ tanvaṃ (AV. °vaḥ) *kalpayama* (AV. VS. °yāti) RV. AV. VS. 'Fashion (or, may he fashion) the body (bodies) according to his will.' The impv. *kalpayatu* would be metrically inferior.

sa no vasāny ā bhara (SV. *bharāt*) RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'bring (let him bring) wealth to us.' Cf. *sa no vīśāny ā bhara* RV. The impv. *bharatu* would be hypermetric.

upasadyo namasyo yathāśat (AV. *bhāveha*) AV. TS. MS. 'That he may be (be thou here) an object of attention and homage.'

pavamāno vy āśnavat (SV. °na vy āśnuhī) RV. SV.

indrāya pāhībhir vāhān (MS. *vaha*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

iha sphātim sam ā vāhān (and, *vaha*) AV. (both).

bodhā stotre vayo dadhat (ApŚ. *vayoverdhaḥ*) RV. SV. ApŚ.; *bodhāt stomaiv vayo dadhat* MS. There is a v. l. *bodhā* in MS. See §§24, 341.

āyur no dehi jīvasē ŚG.: *āyur no vīsvato dadhat* AV.

iśā adityān anu madā (MS. *madāt*) *svastaye* RV. MS. See §315. The reading of MS. is uncertain; its p.p. has *madā*; if this is the true reading the variant belongs here, if *madāt* is 1st pers. subj; but it may also be 2d sing. impv. (so RV. p.p.).

nigīdan no apa durmatīm jahi (TS. *hanat*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

pibātam somyam madhu RV. (quinquies) SV.: *pibāti so° ma°* RV. (semel) SV.

sameddhāram anhasa uraggyāt (ŚŚ. *anhasaḥ pāhi*) RV. ŚŚ.

The following two contain corruptions:

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA. *āya*; MS. *loke nīdhir ajarāya*) AV.

MS. TA. AV. has a clear subjunctive; TA.'s form may possibly be understood as a 2d impv., thematic; MS. is hopelessly corrupt.

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB.: *adharo vadāsu vadā svāhā* HG.

The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB., as Kirste says *ad loc.*

§154. Imperative and Subjunctive with change of tense

apeyam rātry uchatu AV. 'let this night fade away'; *oped u hāsate tamaḥ* RV. 'now may darkness slink away.'

tad agnir devo devēbhyo vanate (MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. *vanutām*) TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. But *vanate* may be pres. ind.; see §116, 191.

so 'dhearā karatī jātavedāḥ AB.: *kṛṇotu so adhvārān* (VS. TB. °rā) *jātavedāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. 'Let Jātavedas perform the

sacrifice.⁴ Cf. *kṛṇutām tāv adhvārā jātavedasau* MŚ., and *svadhvārā* etc. in RV., §95.

prabudhe naḥ punas (KS. *puras*) *kṛdhi* (TS. *punar dadāḥ*) VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. 'Make us again awake', or the like.

sahpriyāḥ (TA. °yam *prajayā*) *paśubhir bhuvat* (MS. ApŚ. *bhava*) MS. TB. TA. ApŚ.

mātevāsmā adite śarma yachn (ŚG. *aditih śarma yānsat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB.

sahmishlo aruṣo bhava (SV. *bhuvah*) RV. SV.

sa naḥ pūrṇena dvānat (AV. *yachatu*) AV. TS. KS. ApMB.

ula trātā śivo bhavā (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

rayim ca naḥ sarvavīram (TS.† °rām) *nī yachatu* (AV. *yachat*) AV. TS. MS.: *so nō rayim sarvavīram nī yachatu* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *somo rayim sarvavīram nī yānsat* KS.

ururyacā no mahiṣāḥ śarma yānsat (AV. *yachatu*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

jayatābhītvārīm jayatābhītvaryāḥ (text, corruptly, °yā) AŚ.: *jayatābhītvārīm jayatābhītvaryāḥ* KB. ŚŚ.

gārhapatya un nō neṣat TA.: *gārhapatyā un ninetu* MS.

aviṣam naḥ pitum kṛṇu (KS. *kṛdhi*; TB. ApŚ. *karat*) VS. 2. 20 (omitted in Conc.) TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. The version with *kṛṇu* is also found in TB. 1. 2. 1. 25d.

adityair nō aditih śarma yānsat (and, *yachatu*) RV. (both)

āyur viśedyuḥ purī pāsati (AV. *pātu*) *ivā* RV. AV. TA.

śam astu tanve māmā AV.: *śam v astu tanvāi tara* VS.: *śam u te tanve bhuvat* TS. KSA.

[By a slip the Conc. quotes: *mitreḥ anamitā bhuvā naḥ* (Kauś. °mitā *na adhi*) RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. with *bhuvā* as ApMB.'s reading; but it has *bhavā* like the rest.]

Imperative and Injunctive

§155. The opportunity for interchange between these moods is lessened by the fact that their forms are identical at many points of their respective paradigms. Of course this means that our grammatical classifications break down at this point. Despite this, the interchanges are not much less numerous than those between Imperative and Subjunctive. We present them in four groups: first, those which involve no change of tense or person; second, those which involve change of person; third, those with change of tense; fourth, prohibitive clauses with *mā*, a small group of exceptional interest, presenting a rivalry between

these two moods which begins (practically) in the later Vedic texts (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §579c) and continues throught classical Sanskrit.

Imperative and Injunctive without change of tense or person

§156. The interchanges in the 2d singular concern in most cases presence or absence of *visarga* (e.g. *vaha*: *vahah*) and in all (four) such instances happen to occur at the end of a *pāda*; they may to some extent be due to phonetic indistinctness of *h*, see §25.

viśvāsmāt (TA. *divo vi**) *śm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA. **yah*) RV. TA. 'Deliver him from every evil-doer (of the sky).'

pra-pra yajñapatiḥ tira (TA. *tiraḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Uncertain: Poona ed. of TA. reads *tira* in text and comm. recording *tiraḥ* as v. l. in both. 'Promote farther and farther the patron of the sacrifice.'

nī dūratravase vaha (ŚŚ. *vahah*) AV. ŚŚ. 'Bring to the far-famed.'

sūryasya tapas tapa (MS. MŚ.† *tapah*) MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Heat the heat of the sun.' But perhaps the second *tapah* is felt as a noun; for MS. accents it as well as the first *tapah*.

asmabhyam indra varivah (AV. *variyah*) *sugam krdhī* RV. AV.: *asmabhyam mahi varitah sugam kah* RV. See §92.

indro marutvān sa dadātu tan me (and, *dadād ilam me*) AV. (both).

agnim nakṣanta (SV. **tu*) *no girah* RV. SV.

ā no viśva (MS. **vā*) *āskrā* (TB. *viśve āskrā*) *gamantu* (MS. **ta*) *devāḥ* RV. MS. TB. AŚ.

śbhur (ŚG. *mātur*) *anyo pa* (ApMB. ŚG. **va*) *padyatām* (ŚG. **ta*) ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.

śrīr me bhajatu TA.: *śrī me bhajata* MahānU.

alakṣmī me naśyatu (MahānU. **ta*) TA. MahānU. Cf. *alakṣmīr me naśyatām* RVKh.

ādityā rudrā masavo juṣanta (AV. **tām*) RV. AV.

(*ud u tvā viśve devā*) *agne bharantu* (MS. also, *bharanta*) *cittibhīḥ* VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. ŚB.

vāyo ve (TS. ApŚ. *vīhi*; Kauś. text, erroneously, *vāyave*) *stokānām* (KS.† *ve śtokānām*; VSK. adds *juṣḍyah*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. 3. 6 (reference omitted in Conc.) ŚB. ApŚ.

viśve devāḥ samanaso juṣanta (TS. *bhavanu*) RV. TS.

nī vo jāmayo jihatā (ŚŚ. **tām*) *ny ajāmayah* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May they who are related or not related stoop to you.' *jihatā* is 3 pl. injunctive. But the long *a*, followed by a nasal consonant, tempts one to read **tām* with ŚŚ.

aryo naśanta (SV. *naḥ santu*) *saṇṣanta* (SV.† °tu) *no dhiyaḥ* RV. SV.
See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 72.

§157. *Imperative and Injunctive, without change of tense but with change of person*

sam arir (MS. KS. *arir*) *vidām* (KS. *vidaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Let the noble (or, do thou, noble) meet together.'

mahyam (in MŚ. this belongs to the prec. pāda) *yajamāndya tiṣṭha* (MŚ. ed. *tiṣṭhatu*, but mss. *tiṣṭhat*, so read) TS. MŚ.

aṛṣan (SV. *aṛṣā*) *mitrasya varuṇasya dharmayā* RV. SV. Soma is subject in both; change to direct address in SV.

§158. *Imperative and Injunctive, with change of tense (in a few cases also with change of person)*

yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevdh TB. ApŚ. 'O sacrifice, found thyself upon benevolence, well-disposed'; *yajñāḥ praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matnām* MŚ. 'May the sacrifice found itself upon benevolence of thoughts.'

marutām (MS.* *sapatnahā ma*°) *prasave* (VS. ŚB. °vena) *jaya* (TS.* *jayata*, TS.* TB. ApŚ. *jeṣam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. 'Conquer (may I conquer, rival-slaying) on the impulse of the Maruts.'

samyag āyur yajño (MŚ.† *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ. *dadh*) KS. MŚ. 'May the sacrifice snugly place life (place thou snugly life, sacrifice) in the patron of the sacrifice.'

The rest have no change of person:

tvam bhavādhipatīr (AV. *bhūr abhibhūtīr*) *janānām* AV. MS. KS.

punar ma ātmā punar āyur āgāt (MG. *aitu*) TB. HG. MG. Cf. *punar manah* . . . *āgāt* (*āgan*) in Cone., and next.

punaś cakṣuḥ punaś śrotram na āgan (VSK. TA. SMB. *āgāt*) VS. VSK. ŚB. TA. SMB.: *punaś cakṣuḥ punar asur na āitu* AV. Cf. prec.

amaṣām cittaṁ prabudhām (TS. KS. °dhā) *vī nebat* (KS. *naḥyatu*) RV. AV. TS. KS. 'Among themselves let their plan thru thy wisdom (or, the plan of the wise) fall thru.' AVPpp. also has *naḥyatu*; the two prec. pādas in AV. are *jagat*.

tasya no rāṣya tasya no dhehī (AŚ. *dāḥ*) AV. AŚ.

prajām asmāsu dhehī VS.: *prajām me dāḥ* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA.

ojo mayi dhehī VS. TB.: *ojo me dāḥ* AV. VS. Similarly in items beginning *saho*, *balam*, *āyur*, *śrotram*, *cakṣur*, *vācam*, *varco*, *tejo*, *payo*, *rayīm*.

agne rucām pate... mayi rucām dhāh (KS. *dhehi*; ApŚ. *rucām mayi dhāh*) MS. KS. ApŚ.

ata ā zu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS.: *adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhāh* RV. AV. SV. AA. MŚ. For *yodhi* see Whitney, *Grammar* §839; but the form is probably corrupt; see §25.

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat PG.: *yaśo bhagasya* (read, *bhagaś ca*) *vindatu* ArŚ.

§159. Imperative and Infinitive in Prohibitive clauses with *mā*

mā saryena dakṣiṇam atikrāmih (GG. **krāma*) GG. HG. 'Do not cross the right (foot) with the left.'

mā jñātāraṁ mā pratīṣṭhām vidanta (AG.† *vindantu*) AV. AG. 'Let them find no acquaintance, no support.' It is significant that the late text AG. changes the inj. to impv.

mā somam pāto asomapaḥ Kauś.: *mā pāt* (text, *yāt*) *somam asomapaḥ* LŚ. 'Let the non-soma-drinker not drink the soma.'

mā naḥ soma hvarito vihvarasea MŚ. [so probably to be read, with Conc.; Knauer's text, *harivo* (em. for *miss. hvarivo*; Knauer in a private letter suggested 'read *hvarito*, certainly') *vihvaras tram* (ms. *vihvara-dhvam*, one ms. **dhva*)], 'do not, O soma, fall, having gone wrong'; *mā na gharma vyathito vinyadhāt* (TA. *vinyatho naḥ*) MS. TA. 'do not, O hot drink (let not the hot drink), when shaken, injure (shake) us.' Somewhat uncertain, because of the bad condition of MŚ.; see §332.

Imperative and Optative

§160. This class is smaller than the preceding and subdivision is unnecessary. There is but one case of change of tense, the first example; but change of person is frequent. A certain predilection for the imperative rather than the optative in the second person is noticeable.

areḍatā (KS. 5. 3 *areḍatā* (by conjecture in ed., but read *are*° with v. Schroeder on 32. 3, n. 3) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ. *gamyāt*) MS. KS. (bis) ApŚ. 'With undisturbed mind go thou (may he go) to the gods.'

agnir dikṣitah prthivī dikṣā sa mā dikṣā dikṣayatu (JB. *dikṣeta*) JB. ApŚ. 'The consecrated one is Agni, the consecration is earth; let that consecration consecrate me.' The same with *vāyur dikṣitah*, *ādityo dikṣitah*, *prajāpatir* etc.; see ApŚ. 10. 10. 6.

arākṣasā manasā taj juyetā (KS. *juyethāh*; TS. MS. *juyasva*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

pratisthām gacha (GB. *gachan*) *pratisthām mā gamaya* (GB. *gamayet*)
AB. GB. Gastra on GB. p. 42 considers its reading corrupt and
would read as AB.

svargam arvanto jayema Vait.: *svargān arvanto jayata* SV. ŚŚ.: *svargān(1)*
ar° jayatah AŚ. (corrupt).

mitrāya havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (KS. °*vad vidhema*) RV. KS. MŚ. N.

satyāya havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (TS. KS. °*vad vidhema*) TS. KS. TB.
ApŚ.

tasmā u havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (TS. ApMB. °*vad vidhema*) TS. ŚŚ. ŚG.
ApMB.: *dhātva id dhavyam ghṛtavaj juhota* AŚ.

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmrajyam gacha* (VSK. *gachatāt*, MŚ.
gachet) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ.

bharatam uddharem anuṣiṅca (MŚ. *uddharema vanuṣanti?*) TB. ApŚ.
MŚ. See §304.

ullame nāka iha mādhyantām (MŚ. °*yadhvam*) TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.:
nākasya prsthe sam iṣā madema AV.

havyā no asya haviṣah kṛnotu (AV. *haviṣo juṣeta*, TS. *haviṣah ciketu*, ŚŚ.
haviṣah kṛnotu) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

āyajatām (MŚ. *āyajeyātām*) *ejyā iṣah* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. MŚ.

avyuṣam jāgrtād aham AV.: *dyuṣam jāgriyād aham* RVKh. So Conc.,
following Aufrecht for RVKh.; but Scheftelowitz reports that his
ms. reads *jāgrtāmy*, and he emends to *jāgrtām*, which seems the
only possible reading.

Imperative and Precative

§161. The precative is merely an aorist optative and does not differ,
in the Veda, from the regular optative in any way. It interchanges
with the imperative about a dozen times, with or without change of
person:

agne tejasvīn tejasvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāh TS.: *agna dyuhkāradyuṣmāns*
tvam tejasvīn deveṣu edhī MŚ. 'O Agni... be thou brilliant among
the gods.'

āyur dātra edhī VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. 'be thou life to the giver'; *mayo dātre bhūyāt*
MS. 'let there be delight to the giver.' Cf. next.

vayo dātre (KS. PB. add *bhūyān*; VSK. *dātra edhī*) *mayo mahyam* (TB.
TA. ApŚ. *mahyam astu*) *pratigrahitre* VSK. KS. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ.
Cf. prec.

durmitrās (°*triyās*, °*tryās*) *tasmāi santu* (KS.* TB. TA. MahānU. BDh.
bhūyāsur) *yo 'smān* (MS. *asmān*) *dveṣti* VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB.
TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. MahānU. BDh.

druhaḥ pāśān (TS. KS. *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS. *pā*) *mucīṣṭa* (AV. *prati mucīcatām saḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

yo no dveṣṭy adharah sas padīṣṭa (MS. MŚ. *sa padyatām*) RV. AV. MS. KS. (The ms. of KS. *sas*; ed. wrongly emends to *sa*.)

yena tvam deva veda (ŚŚ. *tvam veda*) *devebhyo veda* 'bhavas tena mahyam (ŚŚ. *tendasmabhyam*) *veda bhūyāḥ* (VSK. *bhava*, ŚŚ. *veda edhi*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.

suyame me (ApŚ. *mē adya ghr̥tācī*) *bhūyāstam* VS. ApŚ.: *sūyame me* 'dya *stam* MS.

bahvīr me bhavata (TS. *bhūyāsta*) TS. KS.: *bahvīr bharata* MS.

yathendram daiṣṭv viśo maruto 'nuvartmāno 'bharann (TS. 'nuvartmāna) *evam imam yajamānam daiṣṭv ca viśo mānuṣiś cānuvartmāno bhavanṭu* (VSK. *bhūyāsuḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

achidraḥ prajāyā bhūyāsam ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: cf. *ariṣṭā asmākam vīrāḥ santu* ApŚ. ApMB.: *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma* (text, *bhuyāḥ sma*) LŚ.

hunam ma iṣṭam . . . *bhūyāt* MS.: *svam ma iṣṭam astu* . . . KS.

saṃjīvē (°*jivikā*) *nāma stha tā imam* (AŚ. *imam amuṣ*) *saṃjīveyata* MS. AŚ. ApŚ.: *saṃjīvē stha saṃjīveyāsam* AV.

sā me satyāśīr deveṣu bhūyāt (Vait. °*ṣu astu*) TS. Vait.

Imperative and Future

§162. The future is, in general, more certain than any of the moods (Delbruck, *AISynt.* 289); but, whenever a future form deals with an event in the future that is not considered quite certain, the barrier between it and the moods falls. And, like other indicatives, it is used in the Veda of things which the poets represent as more certain than they really are, for tactical (magical) reasons. Only a couple of interchanges between it and the imperative have been noted; but compare below the interchanges of future with subjunctive, optative, and precative. *vāg ārtviṣyam kariṣyati* (ApŚ. *karotu*) ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Speech will (shall) do the office of priest.' Unmetrical; but ŚŚ. is made to simulate meter. *rāyaś ca poṣam upasaṃyayasva* AV. HG. ApMB.: *rayim ca pūrān anusam̐yayasva* PG.: *rāyas poṣam abhi saṃyayīṣye* PG. MG. 'Wrap thyself (I shall wrap myself) up in prosperity of wealth.'

§163. Imperative and Infinitive

dyumnam (KS. also, °*ne*) *vr̥ṇīta puṣyase* (KS. *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'May he choose glory, that he may thrive (let him thrive).'

brāhmaṇāḥ tarpayitavā iti saṁpreṣyati ApŚ. 4. 16. 17; *brāhmaṇāḥ tarpayeti preṣyati* MŚ. 'He gives the order, Treat the brahmanas!' This use of the infinitive in direct discourse (not immediately depending on a verb of command, in which case the infin. would be regular, see Delbrück, *AltSynt.* 427, Speyer, *Ved. u. Skt. Synt.* §217) seems to be peculiar to ApŚ., where it occurs at least twice more: *uccaḥ samāhantavā iti saṁpreṣyati* 1. 20. 1, 'he gives the order, Beat loudly together!'; and *triṣṣ phalīkartavā iti saṁpreṣyati* 1. 20. 11, 'he gives the order, Thrice clean the grain.' On the last the comm. says *phalīkaraṇam triṣṣ kartavyam ity arthaḥ*. The *iti* in such phrases seems to exclude the infinitive from direct government by the verb of command. Nevertheless the infin. of command is doubtless the elliptical residue of an infin. dependent on a verb of command [if it is not, after all, felt as governed by the following *saṁpreṣyati*, despite the *iti*; such illogical mixture of direct and indirect forms of speech is not unknown—F. E.]. For the general and comparative aspects of the infin. as impv. see Delbrück, *Vergl. Synt.* 2. 453ff.

IV. IMPERATIVE SECOND SINGULAR IN *si* AND (?) *se*

§164. In the Rīgveda occur a number of modal forms restricted to the 2d singular; they are formed by adding *si* directly to the strong form of the root without other stem or mood formative. See Whitney, *Grammar* §624; Delbrück, *Allindisches Verbum* §30, *Allindische Syntax* 365; Speyer, *Ved. u. Skt. Synt.* §188, n. 2; Neisser, *BB.* 7. 230 ff. Imperative value is generally assigned to them, because they are frequently accompanied by other impv. forms in the same sentence. Now it is interesting to note that our repetitions do in fact, in a case or two, substitute an impv. form for such a form in *si*; and further that forms in *si* are not entirely limited to passages occurring in the RV.:

deva somaṁśa te lokas tasmīñ chaṁ ca vakṣva pari ca vakṣva (VSK. *lokaḥ pari ca vakṣi śaṁ ca vakṣi*; ŠBK. *tasmīñ chaṁ pari ca vakṣi śaṁ ca vakṣi*) VS. VSK. ŠB. ŠBK. *Cl. śaṁ ca vakṣi pari ca vakṣi* MS./TA. ApŚ. 'This is thy station, god Soma; in it thrive thou well and thoroly.' The verb concerned seems to be *vakṣ* 'grow', tho Mahīdhara on VS. refers the form to *vah* 'carry'. In either case we have a modal 2d person in *si*, exchanging with an impv. in *ava*, and that in YV, texts only.

dhiyā na (SV. *no*) *vājāñ upa māsi* (SV. *māhi*) *śavataḥ* RV. SV. *Cl.* next.

stuto yāsi (RV. *yāhi*) *vahān anu* RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. 'Praised, O Indra, go after our desire.' In this and the prec., of course, the forms in *si* may be construed as indicative (so Keith on TS.). Yet the atmosphere of the passages, together with the unambiguous impv. of the variant forms, seems to suggest modal value.

sam indra no (yo) *mānasī neṣi* (AV. *neṣa*) *gobhiḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AVPpp. reads *neṣi*, showing that *neṣa* (aor. impv.) is a somewhat precarious nonce-formation.

Of equal interest is the substitution in TS. of a form in *si* for a RV. injunctive; it is the more remarkable because it occurs in a subordinate clause (introduced by *yad*):

pīṣṇ yakṣad (TS. *yakṣy*) *ṛtāvṛdhah* RV. VS. TS. KS. 'When he shall (thou shalt) sacrifice to the fathers who prosper the *ṛta*.'

§165. We append here a couple of cases in which forms in *se* interchange with imperatives in *dhī* (*hī*). It is possible that the *se*-forms are modal (imperative, or subjunctive?) middle forms corresponding to the actives in *si*, but the forms are isolated and ambiguous. Perhaps here belongs *dhīse*; see §219, *viśvā adhī kriyo* etc.

indro vide tam a stuṣe (Mahānāmnyah *stuhī*) AA. Mahānāmnyah. 'Indra finds, him do thou praise.' But *stuṣe* may mean 'I praise'; so Keith.

kṛṣiṃ susasyām ul kṛṣe (KS. *kṛdhī*) MS. KS. MŚ. 'The furrow, well-grown with grain, draw thou up.' The verb is problematic in form and meaning; one is almost led to suspect that both *kṛṣe* and *kṛdhī* are from *kṛṣ* 'plow' (1).

V. SUBJUNCTIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§166. The subjunctive exchanges with the indicative (§§117ff., 124, 131, 137, 140, 145, a, d, f), the imperative (§151ff.); and further with injunctive, optative, precativē, future, and desiderative. The first persons, as already remarked, do duty also as imperatives; we treat them here rather than as impvs. In principal clauses there is no perceptible difference between the subj. and its rival moods. In dependent clauses the 2d person impv. does not alternate with subjs. (§95, note 11); but the ind., 3d person impv., inj. and opt. are fairly common and normal.

Subjunctive and Injunctive

§167. Alternation between these moods is not very rare, particularly in principal clauses; and there are a few cases of subordinate clauses which we have classified here. Included are some cases with coincident

change of tense and person; and there is a single instance of a prohibitive clause with *mā*. Some of the forms which we have classified as injunctives may, of course, be regarded perhaps equally well as preterite indicatives without augment; in that case they would belong in §§131, 137, 145.

tasmai devā adhi bravan (MS. KS. TB. [comm. and Poona ed. text]

ApŚ. *bruvan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. 'May the gods bless him.'

tasmai soma adhi bravat (KS. *bruvat*) RV. AV. KS.

pra bravāna (MS. *bru*^o, v. l. *bra*^o) *śaradaḥ śatam* VS. MS. TA. ApMB. HG. MG.

upa bravat (MS. *bruvat*, p.p. *bravat*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV. MS. 'May the blessed (Sarasvatī) listen to us at this sacrifice.' *bruvat*, if not merely a corruption, is a tentative and precarious formation modelled on forms like *bruvat* in the two preceding cases; see §23 where such cases are considered from the phonetic point of view.

agnir haryāni śigvadat RV.: *agnir haryā suśūdati* RV.

īṣam ūrjam anyā vakṣat (TB.* *vakṣāt*) VS. MS. KS. TB. 'Let one bring refreshment and food.'

prācīnaḥ śidat (MS. *śiddat*) *pradiśā prthivyaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

yajamānāya vāryam ā sutas kar asmai TA.: *yajñopalaye vāryam ā vas kaḥ* MS.: *yajñopalaye vasu vāryam āśumśkarase* ŚŚ.

pra śmaṣru (SV. *śmaṣrubhir*) *dodhavad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV. *ūrdhavadhā bhuvat*) RV. SV. So to be classed if *bhuvat* is a subjunctive from the root-aorist (a)bhūt. But augmented forms in *-vat* occur (see Whitney, *Roots*), and both forms may be injunctive, or indeed preterite indie. Cf. next.

sa tvaitēbhyah pari dadat (TA. *dadat*) *pitṛbhyah* RV. AV. TA. N. 'He shall hand thee over to these manes.' Both forms ambiguous, somewhat as in the preceding.

§168. In subordinate clauses the subjunctive is much commoner than the injunctive (cf. §§124f.), but some cases of the latter seem to occur, besides those similar forms which we have preferred to regard as preterite indicatives exchanging with subjunctives (§145):

dyuṣmān (AV. **mān*) *jaradaṣṭīr yathāsam* (AV. **śān*) RVKh. VS. AV.:

... *yathāvat* AV. AG. PG. ApMB. See Cone. for similar pādas.

'That I (he) may reach old age.' The pāda occurs in four different verses: one in RVKh. VS., two different ones in AV., and a fourth in the Gṛhya texts.

yad iti mām atimanyādheam HG.: *yadī mām atimanyādheai* ApMB. 'When (if) you (thus) disdain me.'

yatra (SV. *yatrā*) *devā itī bruvan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV. 'Where people may say "gods".' Of course *bruvan* may be considered indic.

The single case of a prohibitive with *mā* is:

sakhyāt te mā yojam TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. 'May I not be separated from thy friendship': *sakhyam te mā yojāh* SMB. 'do not withhold thy friendship.'

Subjunctive and Optative

§169. This interchange is most frequent in first-person forms, where the subj. also does duty as impv. But the following examples include several of 3d person, and others, as well as one of 2d person, will be found among the interchanges of more than two modal forms, §104 above. Several cases occur in subordinate clauses. One case involves change of tense. See also §96 for a RV. case.

vidād (SV. *vided*) *ārjam śatakratur vidād* (SV. *vided*) *iṣam* RV. SV. 'May (Indra) the possessor of hundred-fold wisdom obtain food, obtain refreshment.'

indā nu kam bhurānā śādhāma (SV. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. °*dhema*) RV. AV. SV. VS. AB. KB. GB. AA. TA. MŚ. ApŚ. AŚ. ŚŚ. Valt. 'Let us now bring success to these worlds.'

īṣṇuyāma (TA. ApMB. HG. *īṣṇavāma*) *śaradaḥ śatam* VS. MS. TA. PG. MG. ApMB. HG.

bharāma (AV. *bhavema*) *śaradaḥ śatam* AV. TA. ApMB. HG.

vibhūm kāmam (VS. *vibhūn kāmān*) *vy aknavai* (MŚ. *akīga*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

athainam jarimā nayet HG.: *yathainam jaraze nayāt* AV.

In the last the subj. occurs in a subordinate clause, which is made a principal clause with the opt. form. In the following both forms occur in subordinate clauses:

(*bhūmyā erteḍya no brūhi*) *yataḥ khanema* (TS. *khanāma*) *taṁ vayam* VS. TS. MS. KS.

yasyām ukantaḥ praharāma (AV. ApMB. HG. °*rema*) *śepam* (AV. *śepah*) RV. AV. PG. ApMB. HG. N. 'In whom (the bride) we may eagerly insert the member.'

yathā pumān bhaved iha MŚ.: *yatheka puruṣo 'eat* (SMB. *puruṣaḥ syāt*) VS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. SMB.

§170. *Subjunctive and Precative*

aḥam evedaṁ sarvaṁ asāni (ŚB. BrhU. °*eam bhūyāsam*) ŚB. BrhU. ChU. 'May I myself be (or become) this entire world.'

yan madhuno. . . . tendhan madhuno. . . 'edni (HG. *bhūyāsam*) PG. ApMB. HG.

§171. *Subjunctive and Future*

varuṇo vārayātai (and, *vārayisyate*) AV. (both): 'the (amulet) made of varuṇa-wood shall defend': *varuṇo* (but Poona ed. with comm. *varuṇo*) *vārayāt* TA.

bhavāsi putrāṇām mātā AV.: *teṣām mātā bhaviṣyasi* ŚG.

agnau kariṣyāmi GG. BDh.: *agnau karavāni* ViDh. And others, see §41.

vācaspatē vāco vīryeṇa sambhītatamenāyakṣase (TA. **yakṣyase*, ŚŚ. **yachase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. See §27.

pra ca havyāni vakṣyasi TS.: *pra u havyāni vacati* RV. VS. KS. 'Thou shalt (he shall) announce the oblations.'

§172. *Subjunctive and (Subjunctive of) Desiderative*

brahma vā yaḥ kriyamāṇam niniṣāt (AV. *vā yo niniṣat kriyamāṇam*) RV. AV. 'Or whoso shall (seek to) blaspheme our holy charm as it is being performed.'

VI. MIXED IMPERATIVE-SUBJUNCTIVE FORMS

§173. Of all genuinely modal interrelations that between impv. and subj. is the most frequent. This intimacy between the two has gained formal expression in the Vedic language in occasional mixed imperative-subjunctive forms. Thus *nudātu* is a blend of *nudatu*, impv., and *nudāti*, subj. No less certainly *karatu* is a blend of subj. *karati* and impv. *karotu*. The function of this blend corresponds to its form. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§740, 752c. In §104, p. we have quoted several variants showing all three types, true subj., true impv., and mixed. Here we append others in which the mixed form varies with subjunctive alone:

sa dr̥ṣto mṛdayāti (MS.† **tu*; VSK. *mṛlayāti*) *naḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. 'May he, when seen, be gracious unto us.'

dūrgham āyūḥ karati (TA. **tu*) *jīvaṣe vaḥ* RV. TA.

vīṣve no devā avasā gamantu RV. VS. TS.: *vīṣve no* (KS. *mā*) *devā avasā gamann iha* RV. VS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Since the thematic aorist *agamat* is rare and dubious in the Saṁhitās, it is best to classify the Saṁhitā form *gamantu* here, rather than as impv. to aor. *agam-a-t*. Cf. however *gamat sa* (*gamema*) . . . in §174.

lanto vām gharṃo nakṣati (AV. *nakṣatu*) *svahotā* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
sa no muñcātu (RV. SV. *rakṣiṣad*) *duritād avadyāt* RV. SV. TA.
ādityair indrah saha śigadhātu (VS. **ti*; RV. AV. *cikṣpāti*) RV. AV. SV.
 VS. TA. MŚ. ApŚ.
 [so 'syai (MG. 'syāh) *prajñān muñcatu mṛtyupāśāt* AG. SMB. PG.
 ApMB. HG. MG. Conc. erroneously quotes *muñcātu* for SMB.]

VII. INJUNCTIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§174. The injunctive alternates with indicative (§§120, 125, 132, 138, 141, 145, b, e), imperative (§§155ff.), subjunctive (§§167f.), and optative. There is one case of a prohibitive with *mā* in which one text anomalously replaces an inj. with an opt., cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §579b. Occasionally there is a shift of tense along with that of mood.

Injunctive and Optative

ā mā prāṇena saha varcaśā gan (AV. *gamet*) AV. TS. MS. KS. 'May he come to me along with life-breath and strength.' AV. comm. also *gan*; MS. p.p. *agan*.
asyām ṛdhad (ŚB. AŚ. *ṛdheḍ*) *dhotrāyān devaṃgamāyām* MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May he succeed in this sacrifice that goes to the gods.'
trayaḍ (VSK. TS. KS. TB. omit) *vayaṃ saṃghātān-saṃghātān* (TS. TB. omit one *saṃghātān*; VSK. *saṃghāte-saṃghāte*) *jeṣma* (KS.† once *saṃjayema*, once *jayema*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. '(Thru thee) may we be victorious in every fight.'
gamat sa (and: *gamema*, *sa gantā*) *gomati vraje* RV. (all). 'He (we) shall go to a stall rich in cattle.' *gamat* is commonly taken as subjunctive of a root aorist; but in view of *gamema*, which can only be opt. of an a-aorist, we class it as inj. of that type.
tena vayan gamema (TS. MS. KS. *patema*; VSK. *tena gamema*) *bradh-nasya viśṭapam* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tena geṣma suktasya lokam* AV.
nediṃ it aṇṇiḥ (TS.† °*yā*) *pakvam eṃt* (TS. MS. KS. *āyat*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.
na pāpatedya rāsiya (SV. *raṃsiṣam*) RV. AV. SV. The SV. reading is doubtless an unsuccessful attempt to improve the meter.
pra tad voce (TA. MahānU. *voce*) *amṛtasya* (VS. TA. MahānU. *amṛtān nu*) *vidvān* AV. VS. TA. MahānU. In AV., 'may (the *gandharva*) knowing of the immortal proclaim that.' TA. comm. *providca* (3d person!). The form *voce* seems well-nigh uninterpretable; the comm. seems to be thinking of the 3d sing. perf. mid. *ūce*.

The single case of prohibitive with *mā* is:

mā tvāgnīr dhvanayid (MS. *dhvanayid*; TS. *dhvanayid*; KSA. *dhvanayed*)
dhūmagandhiḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. 'Let not the fire, smoke-
 scented, make thee crackle', or the like. On *dhvanayid* see §285.

VIII. OPTATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§175. The optative interchanges with indicatives (§§121, 126, 133, 142), imperative (§160), subjunctive (§170), injunctive (§174), precative, and future.

Optative and Precative

The precative is itself only an aorist optative of specialized type. It interchanges mostly with the present optative, less often with the aorist optative. Some of the forms classed as precatives are, of course, necessarily indistinguishable from regular aorist optatives; cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§568, 921ff.; these interchanges might therefore be classed under §210, d.

tābhyām (MS. KS. add *vayam*). *patema sukr̥tām u lokam* (Kauś. *pathy-
 āsma sukr̥tasya lokam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. 'With these two
 (wings) may we fly to the world of the pious.'

tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (VSK. *badhyāt*; VS. ŚB. *badhet*) VS. VSK. TS.
 MS. KS. ŚB. 'Thru thee may he slay Vṛtra.'

anu vīrair anu puṣyāṣama (TB. ApŚ. *rādhyāma*) *gobhiḥ* VS. TB. ApŚ.
 'May we thrive with heroic sons and cattle.'

jīveyam ŚB.: *jīvyāsam* AV.

sam aham āyusā sam varcasā sam prajāyā (ŚŚ. adds, *sam priyeṇa
 dhāmudā*) *sam rāyas poṣeṇa gñīya* (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. *gñīṣṭya*) VS. MS.
 KS. But, of course, *gñīṣṭya* may be considered an *iṣ*-aorist.

sintēdīyā aham devayajyayā patumān (ApŚ. °*mañ*) *bhūyāsam* (MŚ.
pakūn vīndeyam) ApŚ. MŚ. Similarly with *kuhvā*, and *rākāyā*.

suprajāḥ prajāyā bhūyāsam (ApMB.* *bhūyās*)...VSK. TS. ApŚ.
 ApMB. HG.: *suprajāḥ prajābhiḥ syām* (VS. and ŚB. also *syāma*;
 ŚŚ. *prajābhir bhūyāsam*)...VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

priyo dātur dakṣiṇāyā iha syām AV.: *priyo devānām dakṣiṇāyai dātur
 iha bhūyāsam* VS.

bhūyāma te sumatau vājīno vayam RV. SV.: *bhūyāma te sumatau viśva-
 redāḥ* MS. (so read, for Conc. °*vedāḥ*; the text has °*redā* followed by
 a vowel, which by the peculiar sandhi of MS. means °*vedāḥ*).

bhūyāma (SB. KŚ. °*yāma*) *putraiḥ paśubhiḥ* ŚB. KŚ. AŚ. ApŚ. ApMB.
 BDh.

sahasrapoṣaṁ vah puṣyaṁ (KS. *puṣyam*; MS. *vo 'ṣiya*) TS. MS. KS. HG.: *sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣyam* VS. ŚB.

dyāvāpṛthivyor ahaṁ devayajyayobhayor lokayor rdhyāsam (KS.* *devayajyayā prajaniṣyaṁ prajayā paśubhiḥ*; KS.* MŚ. *devayajyayā prajaniṣya prajayā paśubhiḥ*) KS. (his) ApŚ. MŚ. Note the anomalous (thematic) *nor. opt. prajaniṣyam*.

ariṣṭā tanro bhūyāma LŚ.: *ariṣṭā syāma tanvā suvīrā* RV. AV. TS. KS.

ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait.: *ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt* PB.

api jāyeta so 'smākam ViDh.: *api naḥ sa kule bhūyāt* MDh.

tasya te bhaktivānsaḥ syāma (MS. KS. *bhaktivāno bhūyāma*) AV. MS. KS.: *tasya te vayanā bhūyīṣṭhabbhājo bhūyāma* ApŚ.: *tasyās te bhaktivānaḥ syāma* (MS. KS. *bhaktivāno bhūyāma*, ApŚ. *vānsa bhūyāma*, AŚ. *bhāgam aṣṭimahi*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

vāmī te saṁdrāi vīsvaṁ reto dheṣya (KS. *dhiṣya*) MS. KS.: *vīsvasya te vīsvāto vṛṣṇīyācalāḥ lavāgne vāmī anu saṁdrāi vīsvā relāṇsi dhiṣya* TS.: *vāmī nāma saṁdrāi vīsvā vāmāni dhīmahi* JB. All the verb-forms are ambiguous, and *dhīmahi* doubly so, since it might be injunctive; see Whitney, *Grammar* §837b.

Optative and Future

tau yuṣṭiṭa (AV. *yokṣye*) *prathamau yoga āgute* AV. SV. 'These two may he (I shall) first yoke up (employ) when the conjuncture arrives.' The AV. (vulgate) mss. all read *yokṣe*; Ppp. *yokṣye*.

IX. PRECATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§176. The precative interchanges with indicatives (§§121, 133), imperative (§161), subjunctive (§169), optative (§175), and future. Two of the three forms here classed as precatives might, however, also be considered *nor. optative*.

Precative and Future

juṣṭām adya drebhṇyo vācam udyāsam (ŚŚ. *vācam vadīṣyāmi*) ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Let me (I shall) speak this day speech pleasing to the gods.'

madhu vaṁśiṣya (ŚŚ. *vaṁṣīye*) AV. ŚŚ. 'May I (I shall) win honey.'

Whitney would read *vaṁśiṣya* in AV. Cf. Bloomfield and Spieker, *JAOS.* 13, cxviii.

madhu janīṣye (AV. *janiṣya*) AV. TS. TA. ŚŚ.: *madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayīṣyāmi madhu bhaviṣyati* JB.

X. FUTURE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§177. The future interchanges with aorist indicative (§134), imperative (§162), subjunctive (§171), optative (§175, end), precative (just above), and desiderative; and in one doubtful case we may have a future indicative exchanging with a future subjunctive. See also under Tense for interchange of future with other indicative tenses (§234); and see §248a for verbal nouns in *tā*, simulating the later periphrastic future, exchanging with various finite verb forms.

yad vādāsyān saṃjagārd jānebhyah TB.: *adāsyann agna ula saṃgrṇāmi* AV.: *aditsan rā saṃjagara jānebhyah* TA. 'If I promise, not intending to give, to people', or the like. Participles are here concerned.

paridhāsyai yaśo dhāsyai (MG. *paridhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē*) PG. MG. If the PG. contains finite verb-forms, they must be future subjunctives (Whitney, *Grammar* §938). But Stenzler and Oldenberg follow the Hindu comm. in taking *-dhāsyai* as an infinitive (and *yaśodhāsyai* as a compound). Cf. §134.

XI. DESIDERATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§178. The desiderative—by definition modal in force—exchanges with indicative aorist (§135) and future (§177); and it forms a subjunctive of its own which varies with another subjunctive (§172).

XII. INFINITIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH IMPERATIVE

§178a. See §163.

SUMMARY OF MODAL INTERCHANGES IN DEPENDENT AND OTHER NON-CATEGORICAL CLAUSES

§179. Starting with the observation that the subjunctive is the favorite in relative clauses, we note (§122) that the 2d sing. impv. is certainly excluded from that construction. This does not apply to the other numbers of the 2d person impv., which are identical in form with injunctives, as may be seen from the example in §168, *yad iti mām atimanyādhvam* HG., *yadī mām atimanyādhvai* ApMB., 'when (if) you (thus) disdain me.' The true or exclusive imperative forms, not capable of confusion with either subj. or inj., are (in the active) the 2d and 3d singular and the 3d plural only. They occur, if only rarely, in prohibitive clauses (§159), and the third person also in relative clauses

(§§122f.). We here use the term 'relative' in a broad sense to include clauses introduced by conjunctions derived from the stem *yo-*, as *yadi*, *yathā*, *yad*, *yatra*, *yataḥ*. Understood in this sense we find the following:

§180. *Interchanges of moods in relative clauses*

Present Indicative and Imperative, §123

Present Indicative and Subjunctive, §124

Present Indicative and Injunctive, §125

Present Indicative and Optative, §126

Preterite Indicatives and modal forms (mostly subjunctives), §145

Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168

Subjunctive and Optative, §169

Subjunctive and Desiderative Subjunctive, §172

§181. *Interchanges of moods and tenses in prohibitive clauses with mā*

Augmented and augmentless Preterites, §146

Perfect Indicative and Injunctive, §147

Imperative and Injunctive, §159

Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168

Injunctive and Optative, §174, end

Cf. also the interchange between present and aorist prohibitive injunctives, §§209, 211.

§182. To show at a glance the possible variations in prohibitive clauses with *mā*, we group examples of them here. The result is a mosaic of unexpected modal variety:

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat: śraddhā me mā vyāgāt, §146

gaṇān me mā vī ātrṣaḥ (°ṣat): gaṇān me mā vy arīṣaḥ, §146

mā tvā ke cin nī (cid vī) yaman vim (ke cin nī yemur in; ke cin nyemur in) na pākīnaḥ, §147

mā sayyena dakṣiṇam atikrāmīḥ (°krāma), §159

mā jñātārām mā pratigṛhāḥ vidanta (vindantu), §159

mā naḥ soma hvarito vihvarasva: mā no gharma vyāthito vivyadhāt (vivayatho naḥ), §159

mā somam pāt somapah: mā pāt somam asomapah, §159

sakhyāt te mā yoṣam: sakhyam te mā yoṣāḥ, §168

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (dhanayīd; dhvanayīd; dhvanayed) dhūmagandhīḥ, §174, end

grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (vepīdhvam), §211

mā tvā vrkṣaḥ (°ṣau) sam bādhiṣta (bādhiṣtām; bādhiṣtām), §211

mainam agne ví daka mābhiśocaḥ (^ośāśucaḥ), §211

maināṁ arcīṣā mā tapasābhi (*maināṁ tapasā mārciṣābhi*) *śocīḥ* (*śocaḥ*; *śāśucaḥ*), §211

§183. *Interchange of moods in interrogative and lest-clauses*

In one interrogative clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive:

(apām napād āśuhemā kūrīt sa) supaśasas karatī (*karotī*) *joṣiṣad dhi*.

In one lest-clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive:

mā mā hāsīn (*hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (*na*) *teā jahānī* (^o*mī*).

CHAPTER IV. THE TENSES, INTERCHANGE BETWEEN TENSES AND TENSE-SYSTEMS

§184. Tense interchange in the Vedic Variants may be treated, in its formal and functional aspects, under three heads:

1. Interchanges between different formations of the same tense. In general these are devoid of functional distinction. This is true alike of the present and the aorist systems. Except that the reduplicated aorist is associated with causative meaning (Whitney, *Grammar* §856)—and even this exception is by no means a hard and fast rule, as the variants show—the aorist, thruout the history of Sanskrit as of the other Indo-European languages, does not make any functional differentiation of its various formal types. Nor do our variants throw any light on the rare and precarious instances in which different present-systems from the same root are accompanied by genuine differences of meaning, as in the perfective *bharati* 'carry to': imperfective *bibharti* 'carry, wear'; see Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 11. cxxvi ff.; Delbrück, *AltSynt.* 274ff. So far as the variants show, the interchanges between present systems are quite devoid of distinctions of meaning.

2. Interchanges between identical subordinate moods of different tenses, especially present and aorist. These, again, do not manifest the slightest difference in sense. Thus, *patih me kevalam krdhi (kuru)*, 'make him solely my husband.' We have encountered this tense variation as a very frequent accessory to modal variation in the chapter on moods; see above, §154, etc. The cases there presented included only those in which mood as well as tense was shifted, as in *uruvyacā no mahiṣaḥ barma yaṅsat (yachatu)*, §154, where an aorist subjunctive varies with a present imperative. In the present chapter we shall deal with instances in which the mood remains constant, while the tense changes.

3. True interchange of tense, that is to say, interchange in the indicative forms, which (at least in the Veda) do have more or less clearly recognizable differences of meaning. This involves interchanges between present, aorist, imperfect, and perfect, and to some extent future, altho in our view the Vedic use of the future makes it more a mood than a tense and we have accordingly treated it chiefly in the chapter on moods; but see below, §234.

We begin with the first of these classes, which involves two subdivisions: a. Interchange between the Present systems, and b. between the Aorist systems.

1. INTERCHANGES BETWEEN DIFFERENT FORMATIONS OF THE SAME TENSE

a. Interchanges between different Present systems

§185. Interchanges between present systems are carried on in a fairly live fashion, and without the least distinction in meaning between the correspondents. To some extent they represent old established correspondences, such as between the various nasal presents. This is in continuation of prehistoric conditions, largely dependent on the organic derivation of the various nasal classes from different types of 'disyllabic roots' or bases. See Gustav Meyer, *Die mit nasalen gebildeten praesensstämme* (Jena, 1873); de Saussure, *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indoeuropéennes* 239ff.; Hirt, *Ablaut* 78ff. The nasal classes show also a considerable tendency to interchange with other present classes. Next in importance are the transitions from non-thematic to thematic conjugation, part of a wide movement thruout the history of Hindu speech. In a root or two (*mṛṣ*, *hū*) the accented *a*-class interchanges with unguated *aya*-presents, the latter being structurally or chronologically more archaic (*havyāmi* = Avestan *zbyemi*). Intransitive *ya*-verbs show a somewhat marked tendency to replace other types in late texts; cf. Delbrück, *AltSynt.* 277. There are some interchanges which involve different phonetic treatment of one and the same root, producing the effect of different present systems, such as interchange between *ramyātu* and *rayvatu*, *āryuki* and *vṛyu*, *dhvarati* and *dhūvati*. Above all loom about forty interchanges between the stems *kṛyo-* and *karo-*, involving tangled chronological conditions. And finally there are interchanges between any one and any other system. We shall treat these matters in the approximate order of their frequency or importance, beginning with *kṛyo*: *karo*.

The stems *kṛyo* (*kṛyu*) and *karo* (*kuru*)

§186. Of these two stems, *kṛyo-* is guaranteed as a prehistoric form by the Avestan *kṛṣnaomī*. No less certainly is *karo-* of ancient organic structure (disyllabic base **krey*), as is shown by *-kūr-min*, *karo-ara*, and the analogous formation *tarute*. See Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 16 clx = *BB.* 23. 110; Hirt, *Ablaut* 114. The early hieratic language adopted

kṛṇo-, whereas *karo-* seems likely to have been the true popular form at all times. In the prevailingly hieratic parts of the RV. we find, accordingly, *kṛṇo-*. On the other hand, however, the AV., tho fundamentally and prevailingly popular, does not favor *karo-* as we should expect. Whitney's Index to the AV. shows that *kṛṇo-* is much the commoner stem; and this is perhaps made even more striking by the evidence of the variants, in which, even tho the other texts (largely popular) read *karo-*, the AV. overwhelmingly favors *kṛṇo-* (in 13 out of 14 cases; only one *karo-*!). It is quite clear that in this respect, as in some others, AV., which shares many hieratic passages with RV., has come under the influence of its diction. (It is to be noted, however, that of the passages among the variants showing *kṛṇo-* in AV., only one is borrowed from RV. Evidently AV. adopted the hieratic stem very definitely as its own. The passages are grouped just below.) Analogously, we find even in some very late texts that *kṛṇo-* forms are substituted for *karo-* forms of older texts, by conscious archaism. Thus Vait., certainly a late text but one with hieratic pretensions, employs the doubly archaic *kṛṇuhi* (*ojāvantāṃ mām āyugmantāṃ manuṣyeṣu kṛṇuhi*, see §255), against *kuru* of other and older texts. So also the very late NīlarU. revives *kṛṇo-* over the heads of all the YV. texts in: *kivāṃ giritra* (MS. *giriṭa*) *tām kuru* (NīlarU. *kṛṇu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. On the whole both the later hieratic texts (YV., Brāhmaṇa, and Śrauta Sūtra), as well as the popular Gṛhya Sūtras, incline to *karo-*, but frequently and very inconsistently fall back into *kṛṇo-*. The edition of ApŚ. 7. 17. 6, 7 gives both forms in adjoining repetitions of the same formula, *arīṇyantaṃ adharaṃ karomi* (7. 16. 7 *kṛṇomi*); the hieratic form here may be due to mere desire for stylistic variation. Just so in adjoining verses of the popular ApMB. we have first *karomi*, then *kṛṇomi* with further recasting of the phrase which suggests stylistic influence: *nyonam te saha patyā karomi* 1. 5. 16d, and *arīṣṭāṃ trā saha patyā kṛṇomi* 1. 5. 17d. There are few Vedic texts of any size or importance so base but that they occasionally use *kṛṇo-* in place of *karo-*. Of those represented by more than one variant pāda, only TA., HG., and RVKh. lack *kṛṇo-* forms. The would-be hieratic (but late and secondary) Vait. poses with *kṛṇo-* forms three times against other texts with *karo-*, and without a single instance of the reverse.

§187. We seem to see traces of some school tendencies in this regard. Altho it would doubtless be rash to generalize confidently from these few instances, it seems hardly likely to be accidental that the Taittirīya school texts—TS., TB., TA., ApŚ., MahānU., HG., and ApMB.—

uniformly prefer the popular *karo-*. So does KS.; while contrariwise MS. and its Śrauta Sūtra, MŚ., show a majority for *kṛno-*.

§188. The capricious interplay of hieratic and popular, old and new, is further tangled by half a dozen examples in which the aorists or aorist-presents *kṛdhi* and *kṛnu* interchange with corresponding forms of the bases *kṛno-* and *karo-*, §210, a.

§189. The distribution of the two stems in the interchanging variants is shown conveniently in the following table:

	<i>kṛno-</i>	<i>karo-</i>		<i>kṛno-</i>	<i>karo-</i>
RV.....	3	0	Vait.....	3	0
AV.....	13	1	ApŚ.....	5	7
SV.....	1	0	MŚ.....	3	2
VS.....	4	4	ŚG.....	0	1
TS.....	4	9	SMB.....	2	0
MS.....	8	3	GG.....	1	0
KS.....	5	9	Kauś.....	1	1
AB.....	1	0	PG.....	2	2
JB.....	1	0	ApMB.....	4	6
PB.....	0	1	HG.....	0	5
ŚB.....	3	2	MahānU.....	0	1
TB.....	2	6	NīlarU.....	1	0
TA.....	0	6	ŚvetU.....	0	1
AŚ.....	2	2	RVKh.....	0	5
ŚŚ.....	1	2	BDh.....	0	1
IS.....	0	1			

§190. The following list of about 40 passages is grouped so as to show first those which concern RV. and AV. by themselves:

Passages involving RV.

yadā śṛtaṁ kṛnavo (TA. *karavo*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. AV. TA.

yasmai kṛnoti (TS. *karoti*) *brāhmaṇaḥ* RV. VS. TS.

sputrāṁ subhagāṁ kuru (RV. *kṛnu*; SMB. *kṛdhi*) RV. SMB. ApMB. HG.

Passages involving AV.

yadā śṛtaṁ kṛnavo (TA. *karavo*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. AV. TA.

agne medhāvinam kuru (AV. *kṛnu*) AV. VS. RVKh.

anāgasam brahmaṇe (AV. °ḡ) *taḍ karomi* (AV. *kṛnōmi*) AV. TB. HG. ApMB.

priyam mā kuru (AV. *kṛnu*) *deveṣu* (ApMB. *mā deveṣu kuru*) AV. RVKh. HG. ApMB.

priyaṁ rājasu mā kuru (AV. *kṛṇu*) AV. RVKh. ApMB.: *priyaṁ mā kuru rājasu* HG.

brahmāham antaraṁ kṛṇve (KŚ. *karave*, read °*vai*) AV. KŚ.

mām indra bhaginam kṛṇu AV.: *mām agne bhāginam kuru* ApMB.

karomi (AV. *kṛṇomi*) *te prājāpatyam* AV. ApMB. HG.

kṛṇomi tubhyaṁ sahapatnyai vadhu AV.: *ariṣṭāṁ tvā saha patyā dadhāmi* (ApMB. *kṛṇomi*) RV. ApMB.: *syonam me* (ApMB. *te*) *saha patyā karomi* TS. TB. ApMB.

svasti na indra maghavan kṛṇotu AV.: *svasti nō maghavā karotu* TS. TA. MahānU.

yasya kurmo grhe haviḥ VS. MS. KŚ. ŚB.: *yasya kurmo* (AV. *kṛṇmo*) *havir grhe* AV. TS.

kṛṇvāno (KŚ. *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS. MS. KŚ. *anyān*, KŚ. 'nyān) *adharān sapatnān* AV. TS. MS. KŚ. ApŚ. KŚ.

dirgham āyuh kṛṇotu me (vām) AV. JB. Kauś. ApMB.: *āyusmantam karota mā* (RVKh. *karotu mām*, KŚ. *kṛṇota mā*) RVKh. KŚ. TA. BDh.

yābhyāṁ karmāṇi kurvate (SV. *kṛṇvate*) AV. SV. This is the only variant in which AV. shows a *karo-* form. It is also the only variant in which SV. figures at all.

Passages involving all other texts

agnih prajāṁ bahulāṁ me karotu (MS. *kṛṇotu*) VS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

agnih pravideṁ (MS. KŚ. °*ān*) *iha tat kṛṇotu* (ApŚ. **karotu*; KŚ. ApŚ. **dadhātu*) MS. KŚ. ApŚ. (bis).

achidram yajñam bhūrikarmā karotu (KŚ. MŚ. *bhūriretdh kṛṇotu*) KŚ. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

arāṇyantam adharam kṛṇomi (ApŚ. **karomi*) TS. ApŚ. (both).

asya kurmo (RVKh. *kulmo*) *harivo medinam tvā* RVKh. TS. TB.: *iha kṛṇmo* etc. KŚ.

ādityās tvā kṛṇvantu (KŚ. *kurvantu*) *jāgatena chandasa*. . . VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB.

Similarly *rudrās tvā, vasavas tvā, vikve tvā devā*, etc.

tena suprajasaṁ kṛṇu (TA. *kuru*) TA. Vait.

tena mā vājinaṁ kuru (Vait. *kṛṇu*) AŚ. Vait. LŚ.

sinivāṁ kṛṇotu (KŚ. *karotu*) *tām* VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB.

ukhāṁ kṛṇotu (TS. KŚ. *karotu*) *śaktyā* VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB.

kṛṇotu (KŚ. *karotu*) *viśvacarṇaṁ* KŚ. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG.

apsu dhautasya te. . . *bhākṣam kṛṇomi* (PB. *karomi*) KŚ. PB.

syonam te sadanam karomi (MŚ. *kṛṇomi*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

- so asmān (MŚ. *asmān*) *adhipatīn karotu* TS. MŚ.: *so 'smān adhipatīn kṛṇotu* ŚŚ.
- samitāro yad ātra sukṛtaḥ kṛṇavathāsmāsu tad yad duṣkṛtaḥ anyatra tat AB. AŚ.: *yo duṣkṛtaḥ karavat tasya duṣkṛtaḥ* Kauś.
- yena striyam akṛṇutam (ŚŚ. *striyār akurutam*) ŚŚ. SMB. GG.: *yena śriyam akṛṇutīm* PG.
- yāsyām patighnā tanūḥ...jāraghnīm asyai tām kṛṇomi ApMB.: *yā te patighnā tanūr jāraghnīm tv etām karomi* HG.: *yā te patighnā... tanūr jāraghnīm tala enām karomi* PG.: *yā te patighny alakṣmī... jāraghnīm tām karomi* ŚG.
- sa teḍ manmanasān karotu (ApMB. °*manasam kṛṇotu*) PG. ApMB.
- hivām giritra (MS. *giriśa*) tām kuru (NīlarU. *kṛṇu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. ŚvetU.
- rasūni kṛṇvan (ApŚ. *kṛṇvann asme*; TB. *kṛṇvann asmin*, read *asme* with comm. and Poona ed. text; MŚ. *kurvan*) *naryā purāṇi* TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
- yasyām karmāṇi kurvate (ApŚ. *kṛṇvate*) KS. ApŚ.
- madhu teḍ madhulā karotu (MS. *kṛṇotu*) MS. TA. ApŚ.
- prajā vikṛṇvañ (ApŚ. *vikurvañ*) *janayan virūpam* (ApŚ. °*pāh*) KS. ApŚ.: *prajāḥ kṛṇvan janayan virūpāh* MS.
- oṣavantaḥ mām dyuṣmantam...mānuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait. *kṛṇuḥi*) TS. MS. AŚ. Vait.

Interchange between the various nasal classes

§191. Here we have, first, interchanges between the *no* and *nā* classes: they involve the roots *stabh* and *skabh* (thrice), *kṣi* 'destroy' (twice), and *mī* 'diminish' (once). The rest of the cases are stray examples of various nasal formations; they chiefly concern transfer from non-thematic nasal classes to thematic forms. In principle, of course, thematic verbs of nasal classes are just as old as the non-thematic; but in Sanskrit their appearance is sporadic only. The total of these cases is not sufficient to permit deductions.

- ājyam uktham avyathāyai (KS. °*ya*, TS. *avyathayai*) *stabhnātu* (MS. °*notu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with *prāṅgam uktham*, *marutacāyam uktham*, *niṣkevalyam uktham*, and *vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe*, etc.
- ut te *stabhnāmi* (TA. *tabhnomi*) *prthivīm teḍ pari* RV. AV. TA. and (pratikas) ŚG. AG. Kauś.
- adhvāna *skabhnuṭa* (VS. *skabhnuvantah*) VS. TS.: *adhvānām skabhnuvanto*...MS.

kṣiṇomi (AV. *kṣiṇāmi*) *brahmaṇāmītrān* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. *idam aham amum āmuṣyāyāṇam*... *prakṣiṇāmi* KS.; *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyāṇam*... *prakṣiṇāmi* MS.; *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyāṇasyāyuh prakṣiṇomi* ApŚ.

pra smā minoty (ApŚ. *prāsmā minoty*) *ajaraḥ* RV. KS. ApŚ.

bṛhaspatīḥ tvā (TS. KS. ApŚ. °*tis tvā*) *sumne ramāḍtu* (TS. ApŚ. *raṇvatu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. The 'root' *raṇv* is best accounted for as *ra-ne-*(**ra-nv-*). Whitney, *Roots*, regards it as a secondary formation from *ran*. This and the next belong equally in §196.

deva touṣṭar vasa rama (TS. *raṇva*, KS. *raṇa*, MS. *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

āpas tvā sam ariṇan (MS. *ariṇan*) VS. MS. ŚB.; *āpaḥ sam ariṇan* TS. KS.

agner jīhvām abhi (MS. *jīhvābhi*, p.p. *jīhvām*, *abhi*; AV. KS. *jīhṛayābhi*) *grṇitam* (AV. *grṇata*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *grṇitam* is 2d dual of *nā*-class, *grṇata* 2d plural of accented *a*-class.

āṅkṛvāḍv āṅkṛvāḍv HG.: *asāv abhyaṅkṛvāḍv āṅkṛva* AŚ.; *āṅkṛva tatāḥ* ApŚ.; *āṅkṛvāḍvulimpasva* PG. The thematic present is practically unknown; see Whitney, *Roots*.

sā mā samiddhāyūṣā... *samintām* (! one ms. °*indhatām*) TA.: *sā mā samiddhā*... *samindhiṣatām* MS. Here TA., most mss., has a regular non-thematic present from *indh*, the anomalous appearance of which doubtless causes the thematic variant °*indhatām*. MS. has an aorist.

The roots *van*, *man* and *san* may also be included here even tho the nasal is in their case radical; in this grouping we merely follow a custom which is not only well-established but eminently practical. They present, alongside of non-thematic (8th class) presents, certain forms which may be either thematic present indicatives, or aorist subjunctives:

taḍ agnir devo devabhya vanate (MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. *vanutām*) TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

The question is, whether *vanate* is a pres. of the *bhū*-class or an aor. subj.; see §§ 116, 154, and the next.

agnir na vanate (VSK. *vanute*; SV. TS. KS. *vanate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See under prec. The question there mooted is here further complicated by the indubitably aor. subj. *vanate*.

manai (MS. *manve*) *nu babhrūṇām aham, śatam dhāmāni sapta ca* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. But *manai* is dubious as a pres. subj.; it is better taken as aorist, see §§10, 119.

ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ. *sanomy*) *aham* TB. TAA. ApŚ. MŚ.

Interchange of nasal with non-nasal classes

§192. This rubric is rendered somewhat uncertain in outline because a number of the non-nasal forms in question may be considered as aorists, especially in the case of modal forms. Thus, the SV. repeatedly reads *yukṣva* for *yukṣva* of the rest; the latter is structurally ambiguous, tho usually treated as present, like *yukṣva*. We have followed this custom, altho it seems to us that *yukṣva* might quite as well be treated as aorist. The fact is that, as we have repeatedly observed, our grammatical categories are more or less whitened sepulchres, particularly as regards modal forms. The same considerations apply to some other forms classed here, notably to *-viddhi*: *-vinda*, where *viddhi* might be regarded as either perfect in form (*veda*), or aorist (cf. *vidanta*: *vindantu*, §159), tho we group it as present:

indrānuvinda (AŚ. °*viddhi*) *nas tāni* TB. AŚ.

agne yukṣvā (SV. PB. *yukṣvā*) *hi ye tava* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

yukṣvā (SV. *yukṣvā*) *madacyulā harī* RV. AV. SV.

yukṣvā (SV. *yukṣvā*) *hi keśinā harī* RV. SV. VS. ŚB.

yukṣvā (SV. *yukṣvā*) *hi vājīnīvatī* RV. SV.

yukṣvā (SV. *yukṣvā*) *hi vṛtrahanāma* RV. SV. ŚŚ.

yukṣvā (and, *yukṣdham*) *hy aruṣī rathe* RV. (both)

athā mandasva (VS. *madasva*) *jujusaṅgo andhasaḥ* RV. VS.

īṣe pīpihi (MS. *pīpihi*) MS. TA. ApŚ.: *īṣe pinvasva* VS. ŚB. KŚ. Similarly with *ūrje*, *kṣatrāya*, *brahmanyē*, and others, see §270.

agne brahma grbhṇīṣva (MS. MŚ. *grbhṇīṣva*, KS. *grbhīṣva*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

suśami śamīṣva (TS. TB. *śami*°; KS.† *śamīṣva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

yasya yonim patireto grbhāya (HG. *prati reto grbhāya*) ŚG. HG.: *vy asya yonim prati reto grbhāya* ApMB. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§722, 732.

Possibly here belongs:

kataro menim prati tam mucāte (Vait. *muñcāte*) RV. Vait. But in §210, b, we have classified *mucāte* as aorist. See that section and the following for one or two other cases which might, less probably, be placed here.

And see further the interchanges between stems *tṛmpa* and *tṛpya*, *manu* and *manya*, *hrṇī* and *hrṇīya*, §195.

Interchange between non-thematic and thematic presents

§193. This is one of the most extensive movements in the development of the present systems in their history thruout Hindu speech. Regularly the non-thematic form precedes the thematic form, structurally and chronologically. In the variants the priority of the non-thematic form may generally be assumed. Sometimes the thematic forms are nonce-formations, as when *ghnata* takes the place of *hata*, or in the grotesque *bodha*, 'be', which is coaxed out of *bodhi* in the example *pilā no bodhi* (*bodha*). At the head of our list come several cases in which dissyllabic non-thematic stems are replaced by thematic ones. Cf. also under nasal stems, §191.

kaṭi kṛteḥ prāṇati cāpānati ca (ŚB. *prāṇiti cāpa cāmiti*) GB. ŚB. Better meter in ŚB.

yaḥ prāṇiti (AV. *prāyati*) *yā imi śṛṇoty uktam* RV. AV.

yac ca prāṇiti (AV. *prāṇati*) *yac ca na* AV. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. (Correct Conc.)

nī śtanihi (AV. *abhi śtana*) *duritā bādhamānaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

āpo gṛheṣu jāgrata HG.: *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG.: *āpo hariṣṣu jāgrta* ApŚ.: *āpo jāgrta* MS. KS. MŚ.

śed u rājā kṣayati (TB. *kṣeti*) *carṣaṇānām* RV. MS. TB.

agne devānām ara heḍa ikṣva (ApŚ. *iyakṣva*) KS. ApŚ.: *ava devānām yaja heḍo agne* AV. The problematic *ikṣva* is here appraised as root-present; for *iyakṣva* see §236.

maghānāno ci rapīante (ŚŚ. *rapīate*) AV. ŚŚ. For the 'root' *rapī* see Bloomfield, *IF*. 25. 192ff.

praśāstah pra suhi (KŚ. *sūhi*, MŚ. *suva*, ApŚ. *suva pra suhi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In ApŚ. compound of the other readings.

etān ghnataitān gṛhyita ApMB.: *etān hataitān badhnita* HG. See above.

pilā no bodhi (TA. *bodha*) VS. ŚB. TA. *bodha* is an extreme analogical formation in the spirit of the *a*-conjugation. Comm. at TA. 4. 7. 4, foolishly, = *bodhaya*.

somo dadad (SMB. GG. PG. 'dadad, HG. 'dadād) *gandharvāya, gandharvo dadad* (SMB. PG. 'dadad) *agnaye* (HG. *gandharvo 'gnaye 'dadāt*) RV. AV. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. But see §266; and cf. the next four.

taḍ agnir agnaye 'dadāt (KS. MŚ. *dadat*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

indrāya tvā śṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG. *śṛamo dadat*) MS. MŚ. ŚG. SMB.

sā tvaitēbhyah pari dadat (TA. *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyah* RV. AV. TA. N. Cf. the prec. three, next, and §§ 167, 11.

datto asmabhyam (etc., §250, p. 165) *draviṇeḥa bhadrām* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.; *dadhatu no draviṇam yac ca bhadrām* MS.

sam vasāthām (MS. MŚ. *vasethām*) *survidā* (KS. °*dau*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. And:

vyacasvati sam vasāthām (MS. *vasethām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Stems *vaste* and *varate* from *vas* 'clothe'. [So Bloomfield wrote; but the interpretation is very dubious. No **vasate* 'clothes' is recorded. Keith on TS. seems to understand *vas* 'dwell', as if from a type **vaste*, which is equally unknown from this root. Mahidhara on VS., *āchādayatām* (apparently *vas* 'clothe'). The meaning is obscure. Possibly MS. understands a form of *vas* 'dwell' (*vasate*), and the others *vas* 'clothe' (*vaste*). F. E.]

[*ye dadate* (JUB. *dadante*) *pañca dīkṣā sadhrīṇi* AV. JUB. But here there is no real variant; all mss. of AV. read *dadante*, and Whitney's Transl. restores it to the text.]

Interchange between a and aya formations

§194. Aside from formations which may with more or less confidence be called causatives, and which we treat separately as such (§§237ff.), this type includes hardly anything but forms of the two roots *mṛd* 'pity' and *hū* 'call'. The popular (rather than 'late') form *hwayāmi* is shown to be prehistoric by Avestan *rbayemi*; it is doubtless a mere accident that it alone survives as a present formation from this root in classical Sanskrit, while *hued* and *hvea*, both of which interchange with *hwaya*, become extinct. See Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 21. 48. In the following small list the verbs determine but rarely the relative chronology of the passages:

apasedhan (SV.† °*dham*) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV. *no mṛḍa*) RV. SV.

Here *mṛḍa* (should = *mṛḍa*, and hence metrically out of place) together with the patchword *no* are clearly inferior readings in SV. *tayā no mṛḍa jīvase* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU.: *tayā no rudra mṛdaya* TS. The parallel is only vague.

sa naḥ prajāyai haryakva mṛdaya (AV. KS. *mṛḍa*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

te no mṛdayata (AV. *mṛḍata*) AV. TS. ApMB.

te no mṛdayantu (MS. *mṛḍantu*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tau no mṛdayatām (MS. *mṛḍatām*) TS. MS. ApMB.

hve nu (RV. VS. KS. MahānU. *hwayāmi*) *śakraṁ putuhūtam indram* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.

ṣaraxvalīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *hveante*) RV. AV. KS. Comm. on AV. *ahvayanta*.

[As to the variant quoted in Conc. sa: *apāṣi napātām aśvinā huve dhiyā* (TS. *aśvinā hrāyantām*) AV. TS., the word *hrāyantām* is an error for *hāyantām* (pple. of *hā* 'impel') in TS.]

In a single variation between parallel pādas in the Vāḷakhilya hymns the stems *svada* and *svadaya* interchange without difference in meaning; nevertheless, *svadaya* may be considered a causative, cf. §240:

yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenarāḥ RV. (Vāl.): *yam te svadhāvan svad-anti gūrtayāḥ* RV. (Vāl.)

Interchange between intransitive ya-stems and others

§195. The prevailing intransitive present formation in *ya* occasionally offers refuge to intransitives of other formation. One is inclined to regard the *ya* forms as generally secondary; cf. Delbrück, *AI Synt.* 277. The nasal formation *ṛmpa* (Avestan *ṛraf-*) is old, and *manve* is more organic than *manye*.

hutāhutasya ṛmpyatam (KS. ŚŚ. *ṛmpatam*) KS. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

tasya ṛmpatam ahāhāhuhū ŚŚ.: *tena ṛmpyatam aḥahau* TB. ApŚ.

anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB: *anāgaso yathā sadam it samkṣiyema*

Vait. The Conc. suggests reading *sadam* in TB.: but the comm. has *adham*, interpreting it by *anantaram*.

brahmatad upāsvaitat (MahānU. *upāsvaitat*) *tapāḥ* TA. MahānU. But

Poona ed. of TA. agrees with MahānU. (with v. l. *upāsv*?).

manye vān dyāvāpṛthivī subhojasau ArŚ.: *manve vān dyāvāpṛthivī* AV. Vait.

tapate (or *ātapate*, so KSA. acc. to v. Schroeder; TS. both, acc. to Weber; VS. *tapate*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA. TA.

yat te krūrāḥ . . . tat te budhyatu (TS. ApŚ. *tat ta etena śundhatām*; MS. *tad etena śundhasva*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ.

Here we may also place the somewhat anomalous *hṛṇīya* of SV.:

mā hṛṇīthā abhy amān RV.: *vājebhir mā hṛṇīyathāḥ* SV. The alternative would be to regard *hṛṇīya* as a sort of denominative.

Different treatments of the same root which produce the effect of different present systems

§196. Here and there sundry morphological processes differentiate one and the same root in such a way as to leave behind two forms which may be regarded as two roots, but which in any case manifest themselves in different present formations. The Hindu lexicons postulate a root *ārṇu* which is obviously nothing but an obscured and extended *ar-* present of the root *ar* (**yeru*) 'cover'. The archaic form *ārṇuhī* inter-

changes with the conventional *vr̥ṇu* in one case below. Similarly the roots *dhvar* and *dhūrē* are intricate precipitates of a type *dharu* (cf. *tar* and *tūrē*; *taru*), as Bloomfield as shown in *JAOS.* 16 cli = *BB.* 23. 109. Compare the relation of *ramāḍu*: *rayatu*, and *rama*: *raya*, above, §191.

tañ dhūrva yañ vayan dhūrēdmas VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *yañ vayan dhvarāma tañ dhvara* (KS. *vayan dhūrēdmas tañ ca dhūrva*) MS. KS.

dhūrva tañ yo 'smān dhūrēati VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *dhvara dharantam yo asmān dhvarāt* MS.

abhy enam bhūma ūr̥uḥi (TA. *bhūmi vr̥ṇu*) RV. AV. TA.

Accented and unaccented a-presents (1st and 6th class)

§197. The most conspicuous are those from the root *hū* 'call.' The presents *huva* and *hava* interchange with each other, as well as with *hvaya* (§194); the instances are gathered in §2 and are not repeated here. Most of the other cases, and indeed some of the *huva*: *hava* cases, have phonetic aspects, concerning the phonetic variation of *a*:*u* before *v*; see §23, where are presented three such variants concerning *brū* (stems *brāva*:*bruva*), and one concerning *hnu* (*hnava*:*hnua*). The only other instance we have noted is:

(*pra*...) *suvrābhiḥ tirate* (SV. TS. *tarati*) *vājabharmabhiḥ* (SV. TS. *°karmabhiḥ*) RV. SV. TS. KS. (Correct Conc.) Here *pra tirate* is superior to *pra tarati*, if for no other reason because *pra tar-* occurs but a single time in RV. (10. 53. 8), whereas *pra tira-* is common. For the stanza as a whole cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 281.

Reduplicated and other presents

§198. In two pādas concerning the root *vr̥t*, Kauś. has *vavṛtsva* (a Rigvedic archaism; *ā-vavṛtsva* and *abhi-ā-vavṛtsva* both RV., see Grassmann) where other texts have *vartasva*:

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā nī vartasva (TS. *abhi na ā vartasva*; KS. *abhi no nī vartasva*; MS. *abhi māvartasva*; Kauś. *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

punar ūrjā nī vartasva (Kauś. *ūrjā vavṛtsva*) SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

The variant *iyāna* of SV. for *iyāna* may be classed as a reduplicated present middle participle; there seems no ground for calling it intensive (cf. Whitney, *Roots*, s.v.):

iyānaḥ (SV. *īy°*) *kṛṣṇo daśabhiḥ sahasraiḥ* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA.

stotṛbhyo dhṛṣṇas iyānaḥ (SV. *īy°*) RV. AV. SV.

The remaining cases concern modal forms of roots *dā* and *dhā*, reduplicated and unreduplicated. But the unreduplicated forms may, quite as well, be considered root-aorists (cf. §210, a):

te no dhāntu (SV, *dhatta*) *surīyam* RV, SV.

punar dātām (TA, *dattāḥ*) *aśam adyeḥa bhadrām* RV, AV, TA, *dattāḥ* is unaccented in TA, and is surely to be read *dattām*; comm. *dattau prayachātām* (understanding perfect passive pple. with active meaning!).

devīr āpo apām napād...tām devebhyo devatra (MS, *devebhyah tukrapobhyo*) *dhatta* (VS, ŚB, *datta*, MS, KS, *data*)... VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB.

b. Interchanges between different Aorist systems

§199. Considering the large number of available aorist systems, and their general equivalence in meaning, the number of interchanges between them is not large. The only one which can be differentiated as to meaning is the reduplicated aorist, with its well-known tendency to association with the causative. Even this difference appears but rarely among the variants, which in fact present only a few cases of reduplicated aorist forms exchanging with others; and those few are generally not distinguishable in meaning from their rivals. We may remember that other 'causative' forms are from the earliest period of the language frequently used in senses that are indistinguishable from transitive forms of the simple verb. And even intransitive reduplicated aorists are found; see the variant *ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā adīdyutat* (*atīdyutat*), below.

§200. Otherwise the variations are purely formal, without possible semantic bearings. The old non-thematic *s*-aorist (Whitney, *Grammar* §888ff.) of the type *askāṅtsam*, *askān*, *askān*, results in 2d and 3d singular forms which often resemble those of the root-aorist; this has yielded a rather constant interchange between the forms *askān* and *askan*; or compare again the threefold variation between *ruk*, *rok*, and *rauk* from *ruc*, below. These variations may be considered, at least in part, phonetic as much as morphological. Phonetic considerations are even more clearly involved in variations like *acārṣam*; *acārīṣam* (see §286, a) which on their face are *s* and *iṣ*-aorists, but in large part are really cases of *svarabhakti* (Whitney, *Grammar* §230c). Phonetic, likewise, is the variant *āprā(h)*; *āprād*, before *dyāvā-* (see §24). On the whole the list of aorist forms is very miscellaneous and presents a rather haphazard aspect. A number of the forms are more or less doubtful as to which aorist class they belong to, or whether they are properly called aorists

at all. Attention will be called to such cases specifically. We number the various aorist types in accordance with Whitney.

§201. *Reduplicated Aorists (Class 3) and others*

gaṇān me mā vi tīrṣaḥ (MŚ, °ṣat) TS. MŚ. 'do not (let him not) make my troops go thirsty': *gaṇā me mā vi tīṣan* VS. TS. ŚB. 'may my troops not go thirsty.' Here the proper causative sense of the 3d aor. is apparent, and varies with a non-causative 2d aor.

udgrābheṇod āgrabhāt (MS. *ajigrabhat*; KS. *ajīgrabham* and *aṣīgrbham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 3 and 5 aor.; no difference of meaning; both active, 'he has (I have) lifted up.'

mā dyāvāpṛthivī abhi śocīḥ (TS. *śūśucaḥ*; KS. *śucaḥ*; MS. *hiśśīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 2, 3, and 5 aor.; all active, 'scorch'; no difference of meaning.

mainām arcīṣā mā tapasābhi (VS. KS. *mainām tapasā mārciṣābhi*) *śocīḥ* (KS. *śocaḥ*; TS. *śūśucaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. As in prec.: 3 and 5 aor. (*śocaḥ* is imperfect injunctive.)

amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam (Kauś. *yathābhāgam yathālokaṃ*) *āvr̥ṣāyīṣata* (AŚ. *āvr̥ṣāyīṣata*; ŚŚ. *avīr̥ṣata*) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Kauś. SMB. GG. KbG. Both the forms are somewhat problematic; most texts apparently have a 5 aor. from a denominative (*vr̥ṣan*), while ŚŚ. has a 3 aor. from the primary root *vr̥ṣ*; both must mean in the last analysis something like 'they eagerly obtained each his portion.' See §§243, 285.

yata ścutat agnāv eva tat AŚ.: *yata ścutat dhutam agnau tad astu* KS.: *yatra cūścutat agnāv evaitat* MŚ.: *dyaur yataś cyutat agnāv eva tat* ApŚ. Both forms intransitive, 'dropped'. But the MŚ. reading *cūścutat* is a very doubtful emendation of corrupt mss.; in all probability *ścutat* is the real reading. See further §219, end. The 2 aor. *āscutat* is quoted in Whitney's *Roots* only from Hindu grammarians.

ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā (so divide) *adidyutat* (VSK. *atidyutat*) *avīmani* AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The VSK. reading is obviously secondary, and phonetic in character; but it is worth noting that the 3 aor. form is here (like the substituted 2 aor.) intransitive ('shone').

Sigmatic Aorists varying with non-sigmatic

§202. *1st and 4th Aorists*

askan gām r̥ṣabho yuvā gāḥ KŚ.: *askān r̥ṣabho yuvā gāḥ* TB. TA. ApŚ.

askān (ŚŚ. *askān*) *adhīta prājani* ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ.: *askān ajani prājani* TB. TA. ApŚ.

askan parjanyaḥ prthivīm KŚ.: *askān dyauḥ prthivīm* TB. TA. ApŚ.

askān (GB. *askan*) *somaḥ* KS. GB.

brahman somo 'skan (KS. ApŚ. 'skān) KS. GB. Vait. ApŚ.

drapsas te dyān mā skan (KS. ApŚ. skān; MS. *te divam mā skān*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

ahāḥ śarīraṁ (TB. *ahāc cha*?) *payasā sameti* (TB. *sumetya*) TB. Vait. *ahāḥ* is 3d person; 'he hath quitted his body' etc.

āprā (AV. **āprād*) *dyāvāprthivī antarikṣam* RV. AV. (both) ArŚ. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AA. TA. N. *āprā(h)* is 3d sing.; the AV. form is certainly secondary; it has phonetic aspects, see §24.

bhūyānso bhūyāma ye ca no bhūyasah kārṣṭa Kauś.: *bhūyānso bhūyāsta ye no bhūyaso 'karta* MS. Same with *annādā bhā*.

asmaddviṣaḥ sunītho mā parā daiḥ MS.: *diviṣa sunīte mā parādāḥ* TA. The MS. form is best taken as an irregular 4 aor.; cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §894c, for the closest known parallels. *daiḥ* might also, tho less probably, be classed as 4 aor.

apī panthām aganmahi (TS. ApŚ. *agasmahi*) RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

razena sam aganmahi (RV. *agasmahi*) RV. KS. IŚ.

adarṣus (ŚŚ. *adrākṣus*) *teḍā kāsahastam* AB. ŚŚ. *adarṣus* is altogether irregular, and its ending seems borrowed from *adrākṣus*.

mā bheḥ VS. TS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *mā bhair* MS. KS. MŚ. Best taken as 1 and 4 aor.

mā bher mā roṇ (VSK *ma roṇ*, TS. *māro*) *mo ca naḥ* (TS. *mo eṣṭh*) *kiṁ canāmamaḥ* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *mā bhair mā ruṇ mo ca* (KS. *rauṇ mā*) *naḥ kiṁ canāmamaḥ* MS. KS. *rauṇ* (*rauḥ*) is clearly 4 aor.; *roṇ* and *ruṇ* seem both to be best classed as 1 aor.

§203. 1st and 5th Aorists

mā prjan pārtiṣā vi rādhiṣṭa (TS. *rādhi*) TS. MS. KS. *rādhi* is of course passive; see §87 and Whitney §843.

iṣam ūrjan sam agrabham (TS. *agrabhīm*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Obviously *agrabhīm* is a blend of *agrabham* and *agrabhī*; see §202, d.

§204. 2d and 4th Aorists

āpo malam iva prāṇaikṣṭi (ApŚ. *prāṇijan*) AV. ApŚ.

§205. 3d and 6th (and, once, 7th) Aorists

bahu hāyam (MS. *ha vā ayam*) *avarṣād* (TS. *avṛṣād*, KS. *avṛṣad*) *iti* . . TS. MS. KS. But this variant is only very doubtfully placed here. *avṛṣād* (see Keith on TS. 2. 4. 7. 2) can only be an error for *avṛṣad*, which may perhaps better be regarded as imperfect than as 2 aor.

āditya nāvam ārukṣaḥ (SMB. *ārokṣam*) AV. SMB.: *imām su nāvam* (read *sunāvam*) *āruham* TS. KS. ApŚ. Cf. §§276, 133. *ārukṣaḥ* is a regular 7 aor.; *ārokṣam* may be considered 5 aor. with irregular *guṇa*-vowel.

§206. *Interchanges of various Sigmatic Aorist forms*

vratānām vratapate (Kauś. °*palayo*) *vratam acāriṣam* (MS. *acārṣam*) MS. TA. Kauś. See under next.

agne vratapate vratam acāriṣam (MS. and MŚ. v. 1. *acārṣam*) VS. TS. MS. KS.† ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. HG. 4 and 5 aorists. For other variants which simulate the same interchange, but are really cases of *svarabhakti* or the reverse in all probability, see §286.

gāvo bhago gāva indro me achān (AV. *ichāt*; TB. *achāt*) RV. AV. KS. TB. *achān* is of course 4 aor. from *chād* (*chad*). AV. evidently intended *achāt*, like TB.; the form is anomalous (Whitney's Translation adopts the RV. *achān*), but is doubtless felt also as a 4 aor. from the same root in its denasalized form.

mā na dyāvāprthivī hīdīṣelhām (thematic stem from 5 aor., *hīdīṣa-*, cf. *janiṣeyam*, Whitney, *Grammar* §907, end) MS. 'be not angry with us, heaven and earth!': *mā dyāvāprthivī hīdīṣātām* TA. 'may h. and e. not be angry.' See §332, end.

pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB. °*bhaiṣam*; PG. *nāma jāgrabham*) PG. ApMB. HG.: *pitur nāmeva jāgrabha* RVKh. *jāgrabham* may best be called augmentless 'pluperfect', cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §818a. The others are 5 aor. (ApMB. anomalous).

vardhiṣīmahi ca vayam ā ca pyāsiṣīmahi (MS. MŚ. *pyāsiṣīmahi ca*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. HG. 5 and 6 aor.

vācam paśūn mā nīr mārjīḥ MS. MŚ.: *vācam prāṇam cakṣuḥ krotam prajān yonīm mā nīr mṛkṣam* TS. 5 and 7 aor. Others, see §302.

§207. *Interchanges of 1st and 2d aorists*

śraddhā me mā vyāgāt ApŚ.: *śraddhā ca no mā vyagamāt* ViDh. MDh. YDh. BrhPDh. AuśDh.

ā mā prāṇena saha varcasā gan (AV. *gamet*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

2. INTERCHANGES BETWEEN IDENTICAL MOODS OF DIFFERENT TENSES

§208. The general aspects of this relation are discussed in §105, where it is shown that tense variation as an accessory to modal change plays no functional rôle whatever. The cases there referred to are properly a part of the present paragraph. The additional examples of interchange in the present rubric are between the same modal form in differ-

ent tenses; the value of such pairs is *a fortiori* identical. Modal forms from stems other than present or aorist are rare in all periods; so it happens that all the correspondences of this rubric are between present and aorist. Non-sigmatic aorists are, moreover, frequently indistinguishable from formally identical present system forms. This introduces into the group pairs which may be judged, and have been judged in grammars and lexicons, to be merely corresponding forms of different present systems, such as *kṛdhi* and *kṛṣva* in relation to *kṛṇu* (*kuru*) and *kṛṇuṣva*; or *pātam* to *pibatam*; or *śrotā* to *śṛṇota*. Contrariwise, some modal pairs rubricated as coming from two different present stems, such as *yukṣva*:*yuṅkṣva* (§192), may be construed as aorists; such items should, perhaps, be listed in both places. We are inclined to regard the doubtful forms in such pairs as aorists, tho we have followed scholarly tradition in classing *yukṣva* as present. See our discussion §10ff.

§209. In Classical Sanskrit the prohibitive with *mā* is regularly an augmentless aorist. In the Veda augmentless imperfects are commoner, and this has produced a group of variants in which augmentless forms of the two tenses vary with each other, in addition to the general instability of the prohibitive moods as summarized in §§181f. The following two rubrics list the tense interchanges in connection with the same mood, first in categorical and then in prohibitive clauses.

§210. *Interchanges of the same mood in different tenses in categorical clauses*

(a) *Imperatives*

tato na abhayaṁ kṛdhi (ŚŚ. **kuru*) RV. AV. SV. VS. AB. PB. TB. TA.

ĀŚ. ŚŚ. (both) ApŚ. MŚ. MahānU.

suputrām subhagām kuru (RV. *kṛṇu*; SMB. *kṛdhi*) RV. SMB. ApMB. HG.

patim ekādakaṁ kṛdhi (SMB. HG. *kuru*) RV. SMB. ApMB. HG. In same stanza as prec. Note that all texts vary the form, except HG. which has *kuru* both times.

patinī me kevalam kuru (AV. ApMB. *kṛdhi*) RV. AV. ApMB.

parācīnā mukhā kṛdhi (KS. *kuru*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

vi jihṣva lokam kṛṇu AV.: *vi jihṛṣva lokam kṛdhi* TA.

athā mano vasudevāya kṛṣva RV.†: *adhā mano vasudevāya kṛṇuṣva* AV. (poor meter).

vivasva ādityaiṣa te somapāthas tena (KS. *tasmin*) *mandasva* . . . TS. KS.: *vivasvann* (VSK. **vān*) *ādityaiṣa te somapāthas tasmin matsva* VS. VSK. ŚB. Contrary to Whitney, *Roots*, we regard *matsva* as 4 aor. rather than present.

akṣinā gharman pātām (MS. *pibatām*)..VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ.
pātām may be present.

divaṁ gacha svar vinda yajamānāya mahyam MŚ.: *devān gacha suvar vinda* (ApŚ. *vinda*) etc. TB. ApŚ.

rayiṁ gr̥yatsū dīdhṛtam (and *dhāraya*) RV. (both). See RVRep. 271, 528.

śṛṇota (VS. ŚB. *śrotā*) *grāvāṇo viduṣo nu* (VS. ŚB. *na*) *yajñam* VS. TS. MS. KS.

devīr āpaḥ buddhā yūyaṁ devān yuyudhvam (KS. *yūḍhvam*) MS. KS. Cf. *āpo devāḥ buddhāyuvah buddhā yūyaṁ devān āḍhvam* TS.: *devīr āpaḥ buddhā voḍhvam suparivīṣṭā deveṣu* VS. ŚB.

tasmīn (Vait. MŚ. *tasmīns*) *tad eno vasavo nī dhetana* (Vait. *dhātana*) RV. TAA. Vait MŚ.

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādityāḥ sadantu VS. ŚB.: *vasūnām rudrāṇām ādityānām sadasi śīda* TS. TB. ApŚ.

sā mā samiddhāyupā.. *samintām* (one ms. *samindhatām*) TA.: *sā mā samiddhā*.. *samindhīṣatām* MS.

See also the doubtful cases rubricated in §198 as interchanges between root-presents (but possibly aorists) and reduplicating presents, *dāta*: *dāta*, *dhāntu*: *dhātā*, *dātām*: *dattām*.

(b) *Subjunctives*

sa (AV. *sā*) *naḥ śarma tricarūtham vi yatsat* (AV. *nī yachāt*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

kalare menim prati tam mucāte (Vait. *mucāte*) RV. Vait. *mucāte* is metrically inferior. But *mucāte* may, less probably, be regarded as present; § 192.

(c) *Injunctives*

uc chvañcasva (TA. *chmañcasva*) *pr̥thivi mā nī bādhatāḥ* (TA. *vī bādhitāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

(d) *Optatives*

yuyuyātām ito rapo apa sridhaḥ RV.: *yūyātām asmad rapo apa sridhaḥ* TB. ApŚ.

pari vo heṭi rudrasya vr̥jyāḥ (TB. *vr̥jyāt*) RV. TB. Other versions of this ancient formula §104, u. The RV. form is archaic.

devasya (*devasyāhami*) *savituh save* (*prasave*)...*nākam ruheyam* (GB. *roheyam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. GB. Vait. MŚ. ApŚ. LŚ.

maro vuriṭa (TS. *vr̥ṇita*, KS. *vareta*) *sakhyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See next.

dyumnam (KS.* °ne) *vr̥ṇita puṣyase* (KS. *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *vr̥ṇita* might be called injunctive, but the parallels make it preferable to class it as optative.

§211. *Prohibitive Injunctives (augmentless preterites)*

Imperfect (one 'pluperfect') and aorist

grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepiḍhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ.

ŚG. HG.

mā teḍ vrkṣaḥ (TA. *vrkṣau*) *saṁ bādhiṣ(a* (TA. *bādhiṣ(ām*, and *bādhetthām*)

AV. TA.

mainam agne vi daho mābhi śocaḥ (AV. *śūśucaḥ*) RV. AV. TA. AŚ. In a triṣṭubh stanza.

mainām arciṣā mā tapasābhi (VS. KS. *mainām tapasā mārciṣābhi*)

śociḥ (KS. *śocaḥ*; TS. *śūśucaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

mā bhaiṣṭr (RVKh. AV. *bībher*) *na marīṣyasi* RVKh. AV. SMB. GG.

ApMB.: *na mar^a mā bibheḥ* AV.

ūrdhvas tiṣṭhan mā divā svāpśiḥ Kauś.: *mā divā suṣupthāḥ* (SMB. GG.

HG. *śvāpśiḥ*) ŚG. SMB. GG. PG. HG.: *mā suṣupthāḥ* ŚB. ApMB.:

divā mā svāpśiḥ AG. *suṣupthāḥ* is augmentless preterite perfect, or pluperfect injunctive.

3. TRUE INTERCHANGES OF TENSE

INDICATIVES OF VARIOUS TENSES VARYING WITH EACH OTHER (ALSO A FEW PARTICIPLES)

[§212. These may be called 'true interchanges of tense' in the sense that, in the Veda at any rate, the several tense-forms are commonly understood to carry differences of function. To be sure, as between what we call 'present' and 'preterite', for instance, or between the various types which serve, or may serve, as preterites, the distinctions are not always 'temporal' in a narrow sense. And we shall find here again an elasticity of function quite similar to that which we met in our study of the moods, the conditioned, of course, by somewhat different circumstances. We shall discuss the examples under three heads: a. Interchanges between the Preterites, b. Interchanges between Present and the Preterites, and c. Interchanges between Future and the other tenses. We may remind the reader that the list of Interchanges between more than two modal varieties (§104) contains several variants which should be added to the following lists.

a. *Interchanges between the Preterites*

§213. The recent work of Renou (*La Valeur du Parfait dans les hymnes védiques*, Paris, 1925) has absorbed and largely superseded most previous

work on the Vedic tenses. Chapter III of that book, more especially pages 29-82, is devoted to a searching study of the preterite use of the perfect and its relation to the corresponding uses of the imperfect and aorist. The work is carried out with great learning, diligence, and acumen, and its results are not likely to be overthrown in any important respects (cf. the review published in *JAOS.* 49. 64 ff.). Of special interest to us are the remarks on page 41, towards the bottom, where, referring to Bloomfield's article 'On the instability in the use of moods', *AJP.* 23. 1ff., Renou says: 'la variation dans les temps n'est pas moins manifeste.' Such indeed seems from the variants to be the case. The aorist was shown long ago by Delbrück *AI Tempuslehre*, 5ff.; *Vgl. Synt.* 2. 240 f. to be specially appropriate to facts falling within the experience of the speaker, of which he knows personally; consequently, to recent events, and facts about which special confidence exists or is claimed. Hence what we have referred to as the 'prophetic aorist', which is a special favorite, as we saw, in expressing as already accomplished things which the speaker ardently desires (cf. Renou 26f., calling attention to its frequency in magic charms). Hence its variation with the modal forms, described above, and with the present indicative, below. The imperfect and perfect are often used more or less interchangeably referring to events of the remoter past (Renou 30 ff.); such difference as is discernible between perfect and imperfect as narrative tenses appears often in this, that the perfect expresses facts of greater permanence (Renou 49) or importance (65), and is frequently used in standing formulas (64), as distinguished from the normal imperfect of simple narration. Meter often plays a part in the choice of tense-form (Renou 45 f.); thus in the RV. itself we find the variant

ava tmāṇā dhṛyatā (bṛhataḥ) śambaram bhīnat (7. 18. 20 *bhet*), 1. 54. 4 and 7. 18. 20,

where *bhīnat*, imperfect, and *bhet*, aorist, are merely *jagātī* and *triṣṭubh* forms of precisely the same idea. It would be pedantry to try to find any real difference here. Metrical convenience certainly plays a part in a number of other variants, tho it is not always as clear as here.

§214. Even the 'prophetic aorist' is paralleled by equally 'prophetic' uses of the other preterites. One evidence of this is the general fact that, as we saw (§§127 ff.), they vary with modal forms only less frequently than the aorist. But further, the aorist appears in direct and apparently unstrained exchange with other preterites, and that too occasionally in places which seem to cry out for a 'prophetic' form. Thus,

trīṇy āyūṅṣi te 'karam AV., 'I have made three lives for thee.' What could be more 'prophetic' than this aorist, more in keeping with the medicine man's confident blah of sorcerous intent? Yet, in a (doubtless later) form of the same pāda, JUB. reads

trīṇy āyūṅṣi me 'kṛṇoh, 'thou hast made three lives for me', with imperfect instead of aorist.

§215. Again, a formula where our sense demands a perfect, because it refers to Indra's mythic conquests, appears in the RV. itself with perfect and aorist interchanging:

vy āsa (ānaṣ) indrah pṛtānāḥ svajāḥ, 'Indra hath conquered all battles, in his great strength.'

Can the aorist here possibly be justified as picturing the event as coming within the certain knowledge of the speaker? It seems doubtful. Compare also below, §219, *yena sūryaḥ tamaso nīr āmoci (mumoca)*, where aorist and perfect interchange in a pāda for which the imperfect seems demanded by the usual rules.

§216. It is, of course, evident that the mere appearance of the same formula with now one preterite tense, now another, does not prove that both have precisely the same meaning. For it is not difficult to slip from one psychological attitude into another, while still envisaging the same event. And we shall show below (see, e.g., the pāda: *ṛtasya yonau mahiṣā ahinvan* etc., §217) that sometimes the alteration is eminently suited to a changed situation. Yet, when all is said and done, and when allowance has been made for the fact that the variants are far less numerous here than in the case of the moods, they seem to show conclusively that there is no very great wrench in substituting one preterite for another, and so furnish presumptive evidence in favor of great laxity in their use.—F. E.]

§217. Imperfect and Aorist

ava tmanā dhṛṣṭā (and, bṛhataḥ) śambaram bhīnat (and, bhet) RV. (both).

See above.

trīṇy āyūṅṣi te 'karam (JUB. *me 'kṛṇoh*) AV. JUB. See above.

labhīḥ saṁrabdham anu avindan (TB. *saṁrabdho avidat*) *ṣaḍ uritḥ* AV.

TB. The TB. improves the meter.

avindac charyāṇāvati (MS. **dañ śar**) MS. KS.: *tad vidac charyāṇāvati* RV. AV. SV. TB.

akarat sūryavarcasam ApMB.: *akṛṇoh sūryatvacam* RV. AV. JB.: *avakṛṇot sūryatvacam* MG.

yadi vṛkṣād abhyapaptat (HG. *vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat*) *phalam* (AV.

- phalaṁ tat*) AV. HG.: (*yadi vṛkṣād yady antarikṣāt*) *phalam abhyapaptat*... ApMB.
- apām stoko abhyapaptad rasena* (ApMB. °*paptac* *chivena*; HG. °*patac* *chivāya*) AV. ApMB. HG.
- ulūkhala* (ApMB. *aulā*°; AV. *vānaspatyā*) *grāvēṇo phoṣam akrata* (MG. *akureata*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG. *akureata* is shown by the meter to be secondary; the MG. substitutes the ordinary narrative imperfect for the archaic aorist.
- rtasya yonau* (RV. *yonā*) *mahiṣā ahinvan* (RV. *ahēgata*) RV. TS. KS. ApMB. The aorist is 'the normal tense to describe the operations of the sacrifice' (Renou 31), and so is appropriate to this description of the soma-pressing in RV. 9. 86. 25d. In fact the YV. pāda is a blend of this pāda with RV. 10. 45. 3d *apām upasthe mahiṣā asardhan*, and preserves the imperfect which is appropriate to that verse, in a mythic narrative relating to Agni.
- pari sya svāno akṣāḥ* RV. (*akṣār*, 3d sing. 4 aor.): *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV. The SV. has a later and simpler form, which also eases the meter. See next.
- pavitre somo akṣāḥ* (SV. *akṣarat*) RV. SV. As prec.
- asapatnā kilābhuvam* (ApMB. °*bhavām*) RV. ApMB. Cf. *asapatnaḥ kilābhuvam* RV. In this and the next four variants phonetic considerations are involved, and help to explain the variation if they do not completely account for it; see §23.
- tatra pūṣābhavat* (SV. °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV. SV. KS.
- nemiś cakram ivābhavat* (SV. MS. °*bhuvat*) RV. SV. TS. MS.
- yat some-soma ābhavaḥ* (SV. *ābhuvah*) RV. SV.
- yad dūre sann ihābhavaḥ* (SV. °*bhuvah*) RV. SV. MŚ. N.
- apaśyam* (and, *adṛśan*) *tvācarohantam* NīlarŪ. (both). The second (aor.) is a conscious modification of the first (imperf.), several stanzas before it, with change of person and number. No more than stylistic reasons can have dictated the change (variety for its own sake, perhaps).
- zaritā vy akalpayat* ŚG.: *sināvāly acik[pat]* AV. The imperfect is clearly secondary; cf. *akarat*; *akṛṇoh* above, to which this is quite similar.
- yad vāto apo* (MS. MŚ. 'po) *aganīgan* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *agamat*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. MŚ. The imperf. intensive is better than the aorist, as Keith observes on TS. 7. 4. 20. 1; mythic events are referred to.
- yo mā dadāti sa id eva māvāḥ* (ArŚ. NṛpU. *māvat*) ArŚ. TB. TA. TU. NṛpU. N. The comm. on TB. *āvāḥ* = *āvṛṇōti*, *svīkaroti*. *āvāḥ*

seems indeed to be 4 aor. 3d sing. of *ā + vr*. But Deussen, 60 Up. 240 and 765 'wer mich ausstellt, der lebt mich eben damit.'

[*abhi tvā varcasāsīñcan* (KS. TB. °*sicam*) AV. KS. TB. But the true AV. reading is °*sican*; see Whitney's note on 4. 8. 6.]

§218. Imperfect and Perfect

apām upasthe mahiṣo vacardha (RV.* VS. ŚB. *mahiṣā avaradhan*) RV. (both) AV. SV. VS. ŚB. TA. 'In the lap of the waters the mighty one (Agni) throve (thrives)'; a statement of permanent truth; in the imperfect version Agni is the object, and the verb is narrative of mythical events, 'the mighty ones increased (Agni).'

vī yo mame rajasā sukratūyayā RV.: *vī yo rajāṅśy amimīla sukratuh* RV. *agnir hotā nī śasādā yajīyān* RV. TS. MS. KS.: *hotā mandro nī° yā°* RV. MS. KS. TB.: *agnir hotā ny asīdad yajīyān* RV. MS. KS. AB. AŚ.

rṣir hotā ny asīdat (TS.† *nī śasādā*) *pitā nah* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *tvam ā tatanthorv* (ArŚ. *tanor urv*) *antarikṣam* RV. ArŚ. VS. MS. KS. TB. *ny anyā arkam abhito vivīṣre* (AV. 'viśanta; JB. *vivīkyuh*) RV. AV. JB. ŚB. AA.

yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata (AV. *yāś ca tatnire*) AV. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yā akṛntan yā atanvan* MG. Note the precisely parallel verbs, imperf. and perf., in AV., apparently the older form; in the others tense-assimilation.

anavas te ratham āśāya takṣan (SV. *takṣuh*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. But *takṣuh* is regarded by some scholars as aorist; see Renou 56; Wackernagel, I. 1, p. XV.

vī mamarśa rohito viścarūpaḥ TB.: *vī rohito amṛśad viścarūpam* AV. *abhi pra nonuvur* (SV. *nonavur*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. *nonuvur* perf. (Whitney, Grammar §1018a); *nonavur* augmentless imperf. But see §23.

aham viveca (KS. *astabhnām*) *pṛthivīm uta dyām* AV. KS.

yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ. *mā°*; TS. ApMB.* *yam abadhnīta*; MŚ. MG. *yaj jagrantha*) *śavitā suśevah* (AV. °*vāh*; TS. ApMB.* *suketah*; MŚ. MG. *satyadharmā*) RV. AV. TS. MŚ. KŚ. ApMB. MG.

prajā ha tisro (AV. JB. *tisro ha prajā*) *atyāyam īyuh* (AV. *āyan*) RV. AV. JB. ŚB. AA.

kīm evā vanam ka u so vṛkṣa āsit (RV. VS. *āsa*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. Cf. Renou 43, and next.

āpo bhadrā (MS. KS. *devīr*) *ghṛtam id āpa āsan* (TS. *āzuh*; MS. *ghṛtam-invā ā āpaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Cf. prec.

indrāvathuh (VSK. °*vadhuh*; KS.* TB. ApŚ. °*vatam*) *kāryair* (TB. ApŚ. *karmaṇā*) *daṇṣandbhīḥ* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

yena devā amṛtam anu avindan AV.: *yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaṣuḥ* RV.
asya made ahim indro jaghāna RV.: *asya made jaritar indro 'him ahan*
 ŚŚ.

prathamā ha vy uvāsa sā AV. MS. KS. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG.: *yā*
prathamā vyauchat TS. PG. HG.: *arhaṇā putravāsasā* (read, *putra*
uvāsa sā, see Jørgensen on SMB. 2. 8. 1) SMB. GG.

(*devīr dvāra indraṁ saṁghāte*) *vidvīr yāmann avardhayan* (TB. *vidvīr*
yāman vavardhayan) VS. TB. If correct, *vavardhayan* would be a
 nonce-blend of imperf. and perf.; but Poona ed. of TB. reads *yā-*
mann avar°, and this is doubtless the true reading.

§219. Aorist and Perfect

vy ānaḍ (and, āsa) *indraṁ pṛtanāḥ vjojāḥ* RV. (both). See above, §215.
yena kṛavāṇsy ānaṣuḥ (SV. āsata) RV. SV. Reference is to ancient
 events; the aor. is inappropriate.

viśvam id dhītam (MS. *dhitam*) *ānaṣuḥ* (SV. āsata) RV. AV. SV. MS.
 ApŚ. As prec.

narāśanae (VS. *nārā*°) *somapāthan ya āsuḥ* (KS. *ānaṣuḥ*) VS. MS. KS.
 TB. But *āsuḥ* may also, and perhaps preferably, be taken as per-
 fect. The sense certainly does not suggest the aorist.

naro yut te duduhur dakṣiṇena TB.; *naro yad vā te hastayor adhukṣan*
 Vait. Reference is to pressing of the soma, most naturally felt in
 Vait. as that which has just taken place; the aor. is more appropriate.

yena sūryam tamaso nir amoci (TA. *mumoca*) MS. TA. 'By which (Trita)
 freed (of old) the sun from darkness.' An instructive case. Accord-
 ing to our feeling the imperfect would be required, since reference
 is to a mythic event. Yet TA. has the perfect, and MS. the (wholly
 inappropriate) aorist!

na nām adeva āpat (SV. *āpa tat*) RV. SV. ŚŚ. 'No godless man has (ever)
 attained (or attains; sc. wealth).' A most general statement, to
 which it would seem that the perfect would be appropriate; yet it
 is found only in the secondary SV., which may have been influ-
 enced by a desire to improve the meter.

achīdroṣijāḥ kavayāḥ padānūlakṣiṣuḥ (so emended; ms. *padāni lakṣiṣvat*)
 KS.; *achīdrā uṣijāḥ padānu lakṣuḥ* TS. Cf. the variant *anavas te*
 etc., §218.

iṣam ūrjam aham ita ādam (TS. ApŚ. *ādade*; MS. KS. MŚ. *adī*) VS.
 TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

yad antarikṣam tad u me (MS.† *naḥ*) *pītabhūt* (VSK. *pītāsa*) VS. VSK.
 TS. MS. ŚB.

vrajan gomantam uśijo vi taruḥ (KS. *uśijo apa vran*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. 'The eager (fathers, of old) opened the stall of cows.' Aorist seems out of place, unless KS. feels the act as brought down into the immediate past.

viśvā adhī śriye dadhe RV.:... 'dhita RV. KS. TB.:... *dhīḥ* (present) RV. The aor. 'dhita (10. 127. 1) has Night for subject; 'she has (just now) assumed all glories.' The perfect *dadhe* (2. 8. 5) is said of Agni, and is a general and more or less permanent statement; and substantially equivalent is the present of 10. 21. 3, of which the subject is also Agni. Is *dhīḥ* possibly modal? Cf. §165.

vāk patanīgāya śīkriye TS.: *vāk patanīgo aśīkriyat* (KS. °gā aśīkriyuh) AV. KS. See note in Whitney on AV. 6. 31. 3, and cf. Conc.

pitur iva nāmadgrabhiṣam (ApMB. °bhaiṣam, PG. *nāma jagrabham*) PG. ApMB. HG.: *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh. See §§206, 267. *jagrabham* is pluperfect.

dyaur yataś cūṭad agnāv eva tat ApŚ. (*dyaur* belongs to the prec. pāda, and probably *yata ścūṭad* is the true reading): *prhiṅgām avacūścātāt* TB. ApŚ.: *yata ścūṭad* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ.: *yata ścūṭad dhutam agnau tad astu* KŚ.: *yatra cūścūṭad agnāv evaitat* MŚ. (so emended; but a better emendation, quite as close to the mss., would be *yatra ścūṭad*). The aorist *aścūṭat* is quoted only from grammarians in Whitney's *Roots*.

§220. Pluperfect and other Preterites

pitur iva nāmadgrabhiṣam (°bhaiṣam, *nāma jagrabham*); *pitur nāmeva jagrabha*, see just above.

priyām yamas tanvaṃ prārireṣīt (classed as anomalous plup.; AV. *tanvam ā rīreca*) RV. AV.

puṁsah kartur mātary aśiṣikta JB.: *puṁsā kartrā mātari mā niṣīka* (read *niṣīncata*?) KBU. Acc. to Deussen, 60 *Up.* 25, three mss. of KBU. read *mā aśiṣikta*.

indrāya suṣuvur (MS. KS. *indrāyasuvur*) madam VS. MS. KS. TB. But see §267.

ayam dhruvo rayīnām ciketa yat (SV. *ciketaḥ ā*) RV. SV. *ciketaḥ* could, of course, be considered modal, but the sense of the passage suggests that it is better taken as augmentless plup. (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §820).

yāś ca (AV. *yā*) *devīr* (SMB. *devyo*) *antān* (AV. *antān*; PG. *devīs tantān*) *abhito* 'dadanta' (SMB.† 'tatantha, PG. *tatantha*) AV. ApMB. SMB. PG. The form 'tatantha is a corruption, evidently felt as 3 plur.

plup. mid., for **ta* (so Stöner; PG. comm. reads *tantha* and takes it as 2 sing. perf. act., despite the impossible sandhi).

toyena jivān ei sasarja (so! TA. *vya ca sarja*, comm. v. l. *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA. MahānU. The text reading of TA. is a mere corruption; the variant, an anomalous augmented perfect. Hardly belongs here; see §267.

Cf. also the interchange between Present and Pluperfect, §233.

b. *Interchanges between Present and the Preterites*

§221. The entire business of tense in the mantras is emasculated, as it were, or at least confused, because these texts are in the main sentimental rather than narrative or historical. Legends and legendary allusions are, of course, narrative, implying some precision in time statements. They occur often enough in the mantras. Indra slew Vṛtra, or the Aśvins saved the son of Tugra from the machinations of his father, both in the past. In such cases present or future is unimaginable. But Indra also hath aided, did aid, aids, shall, and will aid him that calls upon him. We are again, a large part of the time, in the domain of modality, either belief, wish, or demand, rather than in the domain of genuinely statable fact. Fixation in point or quality of time becomes precarious, because the thing can be and is supposed to happen in any time. Some of the cases of interchange between present and perfect may concern the 'old' use of the perfect, to express something regarded as permanently established (Renou 7 and *passim*); this is specially suited to such psychological spheres. Thus in

agnim naras triṣadhasṭhe sam idhīre (SV. TS. *indhate*) RV. SV. TS. KS. 'men have kindled (i.e. regularly do kindle, or, SV. TS., simply kindle) Agni on his three seats', the action described is applicable to any situation and time; RV. conceives it as a quasi-cosmic fact. But, as Renou has shown, even the perfect is normally a preterite tense in the RV., and it is doubtful to what extent we should allow its variation with the present to seduce us into assuming the old, non-preterite function for it. For the other preterites exchange about as commonly with the present as it does, and often it seems clear that whatever difference in meaning exists is purely sentimental, a matter of the way the poet looks at things, rather than factual. So that the line of demarcation between even such tenses as are ordinarily differentiated in Hindu speech is a good deal effaced. In the RV. itself we meet the pāda:

ud vān pṛkṣāso madhumanto asthuh (4. 45. 2 *madhumanta irate*) RV. 4. 45. 2, 7. 60. 4, MS., 'your honeyed steeds (O Aśvins) have started

up (rush forth).’ We take it that what is really meant in both cases is, ‘let them start or rush forth.’ Similarly,

yam aichāma (ApŚ. *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ., whom we craved (I crave), he hath come.’ The craving is good for all time; a view which would see in the imperfect its regular sense of ‘craved of old’ is of course neither demonstrable nor refutable.

§222. In the sphere of charms and exorcisms especially, where desire hovers before the eye of the speaker, and all results are imaginary, the tenses indifferently lapse into moods, if sounded to the bottom. The formal tense distinction between the prophetic aorist and the present is merged into a substantially identical modal value for both, as in:

abadhiṣma rakṣo ‘*badhiṣmāmum asau katah* VS. etc., ‘we have slain the demon, slain so-and-so, so-and-so is slain’, and: *idam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS. etc., ‘I drive off this demon.’ Both really mean that the speaker eagerly wants to accomplish the result stated. Naturally, therefore, all the preterites, as well as the present, freely interchange with moods, as we have seen above.

§223. For the rest, even in the quasi-narrative sphere of mythology the tenses intermingle because many myths are not sufficiently stable to keep them from doing so. Even the RV. is the final precipitate of ideas and compositions which had a long past; more so the other Vedic texts. Mythic ideas, such as the freeing of the light cows from the demonic Panis, are thrown forward into the present, as if to be performed over again at the moment, where they mean extracting *dakṣiṇā*-cows from grudging non-sacrificers. Many other mythic ideas refer not only to definite events in the past, but to habitual performances in harmony with the subject or character of the myth. Thus the pious, sacrificing sages of the Aṅgiras or Uśij character figure primarily in the past, but easily reproduce themselves in the present:

sarasvatīm ōkṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV. AV. KS., ‘the pious called (call) upon Sarasvatī.’ To be sure, AV. comm. reads *ahvayanta*.

tām dhīrāsaḥ kavayo 'nudiṣyāyajanta (v. l. and p. p. *°dṛkṣyā°*) MS.: *tām dhīrāso anudṛṣya* (VSK. *°diṣya*) *yajante* (KS.† *anudṛṣyāyajanta kavayah*) VSK. TS. KS. TB.: *tām u dhīrāso anudiṣya yajante* VS. ŚB., ‘her (earth) looking after (pointing to) the sages worship(ped).’

§224. Even an epithet like *prathama* is not sufficient to prevent this transfer to the present, if we may trust Knauer’s quotation from an unedited part of MŚ.:

viśvarjagḥ prathamē (TB. ApŚ. *°māh*) *saittram āsata* (MŚ. *āsate*) PB. TB.

ApŚ. MŚ., 'the all-creators of yore performed (perform) a *sattra*-session.'

§225. In these cases the presents are logically inferior; in two at least, and probably in all three, they represent secondary readings. But no great wrench is required in order to use them. Similarly in: *oṣadhayaḥ saṁ vadante* (VS. *avadanta*) RV. VS. VSK. TS., 'the plants confer(red) together.'

yatrauṣadkīḥ samagmata RV. VS.: *yad oṣadhayaḥ saṁgachante* (KS. *samagmata*) TS. MS. KS. 'where (when) the plants have come (come) together.'

These passages allude to slender, myth-like conceptions which may just as well be conceived in the present as in the past.

§226. It may also be remembered that occasionally a present, at all periods of the language, is 'historical', that is used of past events to add liveliness to the narrative. All these considerations, together with the instability of oral tradition, which at times doubtless introduces really faulty variants, account sufficiently for the considerable number of interchanges between present and all sorts of preterites.

§227. We have alluded above to the special position of the perfect, the use of which has recently been made the object of Renou's study. We may conclude these introductory remarks by mentioning a few variants in which perfect forms seem either certainly or very probably to have no preterite value whatever:

anu tām ekaḥ pavir ā vavarta (TB. *vavarti*) RV. MS. TB. 'one wagon-tire rolls after you two (Mitra and Varuṇa).' The present of TB., tho secondary of course, is as it were an ancient commentary on *vavarta*. *prajāḥ pupuṣa purudhā vi rājati* RV. VS.: *prajāḥ piparti bahudhā vi rājati* SV. ArŚ. MS. KS. ApŚ. 'he prospers (furthers) our offspring manifoldly' etc.

saṁ sūryeṇa vocate (SV. *didyute*, VS.* *didyutat*) RV. SV. VS. (both) MS. ŚB. TA. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 345. Of course *didyutat* may be modal.

nīndati too *anu* too *grṇāti* (MS. *vavanda*) MS. KS.: *pīyati* too *anu* too *grṇāti* RV. VS. TS. ŚB. N. 'some blame, others praise.' Here the perfect *vavanda*, replacing the present *grṇāti* and matching the present *nīndati*, can be put down with almost mathematical certainty as non-preterite.

§228. The variants are divided into four groups: Present and Imperfect, Aorist, Perfect, and Pluperfect respectively. We have not thought it worth while to burden our lists with such a ritual litany as

MS. 4. 9. 23-24, where, first, ritual situations are approached anticipatorily, with verbs in the present or future indicative, or in various moods; and then, after the completion of the rite, the same litany is repeated practically verbatim with change of the verbs to preterites; as e.g. *agne vratapate vratam carisyāmi...acārṣam*. A close parallel to this passage in TA. 4. 41. 1-6.

§229. Present and Imperfect

ulūkhālā (ApMB. *aul^o*) *grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata* (MG. *akurvata*) ApMB.

HG. MG.: *aulūkhālāḥ savipravadanti grāvāṇaḥ* SMB.: *vānaspatyā grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata* AV. Aorists also concerned here.

catuṣpadīm auṣ emi (AV. *aitau*) *vratena* RV. AV. On the anomalous form *aitat* see Whitney-Lanman on AV. 18. 3. 40.

yam aichāma (ApŚ. *ichāmī*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ.

sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV. AV. KS. But AV. comm. *ahvayanta*.

tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudīṣyāyajanta etc., see §223.

prasnāpayanty ūrmiṇam (SV. **yanta ūrmayah*) RV. SV. Note hiatus in SV.

saṁ bāhūbhyāṁ dhamati (MS. **yām adhamat*) *saṁ patatraiḥ* RV. VS. MS.

MahānU. ŚvetU. And others, see §50.

yat sunvate yajamānāya śikṣam (and, *śikṣathah*) RV. (both).

uro vā padbhir (Kauś. *padbhir*) *āhate* (Kauś. SMB. **ta*; but Jørgensen **te*) TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB.

śrīṇānā opsu mṛṇjata (SV. *mṛṇjate*) RV. SV.

yam nirmanthato āśvinā RV. ApMB. HG. MG.: *yābhyām nirmanthatām āśvinau derau* ŚB. BṛhU.

uta yāva ivēdanti (TB. *ivēdan*) RV. TB.

viśvasṛjah prathame (TB. ApŚ. **māh*) *sattram āsata* (MŚ. *āsate*) PB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

surayā mūtrāj janayanti (VS.† **ta*) *retah* VS. TB.: *surāyā mūtrāj janayanta* (KS.† **ti*) *retah* MS. KS.

oṣadhayah saṁ vadante (VS. *saṁ avadanta*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.

yāvau te sāmanāv itah (AV. *aitām*) RV. AV.

asurās tvā nyakhanan AV.: *nīcāḥ khananty asurāḥ* AV.

andhena yat (TA. *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsīt* (TA. **si*) AV. TA.

sapta svasāro abhi saṁ navanie (AV. *navanta*) RV. AV. The AV. form may be considered injunctive.

adhīyata (ŚŚ. **te*) *devardtah* AB. ŚŚ.

rathītamau rathīnām ahva (KS. **nām huva*) *ātaye* TS. MS. KS.

tam ahve (SV. *u hure*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV. Phonetic corruption in SV.; see §23, end.

āsūn iya sugamān ahva ūtaye AV.: *āsūn hure sugamān ūtaye* TS. MS. KS. *mano na ā hūvāmahe* (Vait. °*hi*; VS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. *hūvāmahe*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. LŚ. ApS. Vait. Kauś. See §2.

§230. Present and Aorist

ulūkhālā grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrāta, etc., see §229.

ud vām prkṣāso etc., see §221.

yad oṣadhīyāḥ (RV. VS. *yatrauṣadhīḥ*) *saṁagmata* (TS. MS. *saṁgachante*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

dṛśāno rukma urejā (RV. KS. *urviyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS. *vi bhātī*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

gāyatrena chandasā prthivīm anu vi krame TS.: *prthivyām* (KS. °*vīm*) *viṣṇur* (MS. *viṣṇuḥ prthivyām*) *vyakraṇsta gāyatrena chandasā* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. And the same with *traiṣṭubhena...antarikṣam*, and *jāgatena...divam*.

yad rātriyāt (and, *ahnāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA.: *yad rātriyā* (MahānU. TA. v. I. *rātriyā*; also, *ahnā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA. v. I. *akārīṣam*) TA. MahānU. See §30.

prāṇasya brahmacāry asi (ApMB. *asmi*, HG. *abhūr asau*) AG. ApMB. HG. MG.

brahmacāryam āgām (MG. *upemaṇi*; Kauś. text *āgam*, unnoted in Conc., perhaps misprint) ŚB. Kauś. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG. A metrical pāda is produced in MG. out of what is prose in the others; the context is different.

yadā team abhivarṣasi PraśU.: *yadā prāṇo abhyavarṣit* AV.

pra vā etindur indrasya niṣkṛtim AV.: *pro ayāśād indur indrasya niṣkṛtam* RV. SV. PB.

gṛhān aini (LŚ. HG. *emi*; ApŚ. *āgām*) *manasā modamānaḥ* (AV. *sumanā vandamānaḥ*; ApŚ. **modamānaḥ suvarcāḥ*; LŚ. *manasā daivena*) AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG.

samīcīndea āsate (SV. *āsata*) RV. SV.

abadhīṣma rakṣo 'badhīṣmāmum asau hataḥ (VSK. *rakṣo 'muṣya teā badhāyāmum abadhīṣma*) VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ.: *avadhīṣma rakṣaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *idam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

ye sarpāḥ...tebhya imam balim āhāṣam AG.: *ye pārthivāḥ sarpās tebhya imam balim harāmi* HG.

rūpaṁ vo rūpenābhyāgām (KS. *rūpenābhyāgām*) *vayasaṁ vayanā* MS. KS. MŚ.: *rūpeṇa vo rūpaṁ abhy āgām* (TS. ApŚ. *aimi*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.

sam ākūṭir (RVKh. erroneously, *ākūṭir*) *namāmasi* (MS. *anāśata*) RVKh. AV. MS.

pra vān ratho mānojavā asurji (and, *iyarti*) RV. (both)

samāvacartti (MS. MŚ. *samāvertat*) *prthivī* VS. MS. KS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

devā madhor vy āsnate (SV. *āsata*) RV. SV.

yasmād bhīdā (and, *bhīto*) *nigādasi* MŚ.: *yasmād bhīṣā nigādasi* (TB. ApŚ. *nyāṣadāḥ*; ŚŚ. *nyāṣadāḥ*) AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Thru fear of which thou sinkest down (hast [just now] sunk down).'

Participles:

trpat (SV. *trmpat*) *somam upibad viṣṇunā sutam yathāvaśat* (SV.†" *sam*) RV. AV. SV. TB.

§231. Present and Perfect

yaśyām karmāṇi kurvate (ApŚ. *kṛṇvate*) KS. ApŚ.: *yāni karmāṇi cakṛire* AV.

na hi te nāma jagrāha AV.: *na hy aśyā* (ApMB. *aśyaī*) *nāma grbhyaṁi* RV. ApMB.

catustriṅśat tantavo ye vi tatnire VS.: *trayastrīṅśat tantavo ye vi tatnire* (MS. *yam vitanvate*; KS. AŚ. *yān vitanvate*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

atra bravāṁsi dadhīre RV.: *tatra bravāṁsi kṛṇvate* SV.

purūṣasur hi maghavan babhūvitha (RV. *zanād asi*) RV. SV.

caraty ananuvratā ApMB. HG.: *yac cacārānanuvratam* ApŚ.: *vicaranty apativratā* ŚG. MDh. (Pres. pple. in the last.) The parallel verb in the preceding pāda is perfect in all; ApŚ. assimilates the tense in this pāda.

yasmāj jātā na parā naiva kiṁ canāsa (VS. *jātāḥ na parā kiṁ canāsa*) VS. TA.: *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *asti* JB. ŚŚ.: *yasmād anyo na paro asti jātaḥ* PB.: *yasmād anyan na param kiṁ canāsti* Vait.: *yasmān na jātaḥ paro anyo asti* (NṛpU. 'sti') VS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU.: *yasmāt param nāparam asti kiṁ cit* TA. MahānU. N.: *tasmād dhānyan na paraḥ kiṁ canāsa* RV. TB.: *tasmād vai nānyat param asti tejaḥ* AV.: *yasmān nānyat param asti bhūtam* AV.

ad it prthivī gṛtair vy udyate TS.: *ad id gṛtēna prthivī vy udyate* (AV. *prthivīm vy āduh*) RV. AV. MS. KS. N.

ye prthivyā samājāgmur iṣam ūrjam rasānāḥ KS.: *samāgachantīṣam ūrjam rasānāḥ* (ApŚ. *duhānāḥ*) MS. ApŚ.

agnim naras triśadhas̥the sam̐ idhire (SV. TS. *indhate*) RV. SV. TS. KS. *agnim indhe* (RV. *idhe*) *vicassabhīḥ* RV. SV.

anu vām ekaḥ pavir ā vavarta (TB. °*tī*) RV. MS. TB.

nahī tad dr̥śyate divā (ApŚ. *tad dadṛśe divā*, HG. *tad divā dadṛśe divaḥ*) AV. ApŚ. HG.

manye (KS. *mene*) *bhejāno amṛtasya tarhi* AV. TS. MS. KS.

yac chaṁ ca yoś ca manur āyeje (TS. *āyaje*) *pītā* RV. TS. KS. The TS. reading is anomalous in form and meaning, and is obviously due to metrical considerations (better cadence).

yadī vāham anṛtadeva āsa (AV. °*devo asmi*) RV. AV.

prajāḥ piparti bahudhā (RV; VS. *pupoṣa purudhā*) *vi rājati* RV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

eṣu vānaspatyeṣu yo 'dhi tasthuḥ AV.: *eṣu vṛkṣeṣu vānaspatyeṣu āsate* ApMB.

phiyati (MS. KS. *nindati*) *two anu two gr̥ṇāti* (MS. *vavanda*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

apām napālam̐ parī tasthur (ArS. °*tam upa yanty*) *āpaḥ* RV. ArS. TS. MS. KS.

sam̐ tvā tataḥkuḥ (LŚ. °*kṣṇuḥ*) Vait. LŚ. KŚ. If *tataḥkuḥ* is entitled to standing, it is a nonce blend of perfect and present (*takṣṇuṣṇanti*).

indrasya tvā jaṭhare sādyaṁāmi (AŚ. *dadhāmi*) . . VSK. KB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. Kauś.: *brahmaṇa indrasya tvā jaṭhare dadhuḥ* MS.† See §315.

dāsyann adāsyann ula sam̐ gr̥ṇāmi (TA. *ula vā kariṣyan*, and so AVPpp., Barret, JAOS. 30. 213) AV. TA.: *adāsyann agna ula sam̐gr̥ṇāmi* AV.: *adītsan vā sam̐jagara janebhyaḥ* TA.: *dhipsyam̐ vā sam̐cakara janebhyaḥ* MS.: *yad vādāsyann sam̐jagārā janebhyaḥ* TB.

§232. Present and other Participles

Since Renou has shown (121–38) that participles in the Veda often appear to be independent of the finite stems with which they are formally connected, we list the participial variants in a separate list. The first six variants all occur in the same context; soma is referred to:

yamaḥ sūyamānaḥ VS.: *yamo 'bhigutaḥ* TS. KS.

rudra āhutaḥ TS.: *rudro hūyamānaḥ* VS. KS.

pīlaro nārāsaṁsāḥ sannāḥ (VSK. *sādyamānaḥ*) VS. VSK.: *pītr̥ṇām̐ nār-āsaṁsāḥ* TS.

viṣṇuḥ śipiviṣṭa ūrāv (VSK.† *ūrā*) *āsannaḥ* VS.† VSK.: *śipiviṣṭa āsāditaḥ* (KS.† °*viṣṭa ūrā āsādyamānaḥ*) TS. KS.

asuraḥ kr̥tīyamānaḥ (KS. *kr̥titaḥ*, VS. *ponyamānaḥ*) VS. TS. KS.

viśve devā anbhūḥ nyupītaḥ (VSK. *nyupyamāneṣu*) VS. VSK.
uttigṭhaṅs (ŚŚ. *utthilas*) *tretā bhavati* AB. ŚŚ.
ajāñānaḥ (SV. *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaiḥ* RV. SV. See §238, end.
atirātraṁ varṣan pūrtir āpti (MS. *vacarṣān pūrtā rācat*; KS. *varṣvān*
pūta rāvat) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS.
lepāno (SV. *lapāno*) *deva rakṣasaḥ* RV. SV.
samākurvāṇaḥ (TB. *samācakrāṇaḥ*) *prarūho ruhaś ca* AV. TB.
dhṛṣṇaṇaḥ (AV. °ḥ, read °ṇaḥ acc. to Whitney; AA. *dādhṛṣṇaṇaḥ*)
dhṛṣṇitaḥ (AV. °taḥ, Whitney em. °taṁ) *śavaḥ* AV. AA. ŚŚ.†
harṣamāñḍaso dhṛṣṇā (TB. °āḥ) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N. *dhṛṣṇā* is an ad-
 verbial instr. of the pres. act. ppl.
[viśvasyām viki pravivīśivāṁsam (KS. °vivīśnam, quoted in Conc. as
praviśānam) *īmaḥ* TS. MS. KS. See §§69, 273.]

§233. Present and Pluperfect

rudrān devān yaññenāpīprem ApŚ.: *rudrān prīṇāmi* Vait.

c. Future and other Tenses

§234. The future is rare in the Mantras, its place being taken by the moods, especially the subjunctive. Its own modal value comes to the fore notably in its interchanges with the moods (§177); and in the rare instances where it interchanges with preterite indicative forms, it is rather as a mood than as a tense (§134). For this reason the few scattering finite futures varying with preterite tenses are treated above. Here are gathered, first, a couple of variants between present and future indicatives, and between present and future participles; and then a group of variations between future participles on the one hand and aorist and perfect participles on the other. Some of the future-aorist cases, concerning sigmatic forms on either side, have obvious phonetic bearings which have been dealt with in §§27f. The present-future cases need no comment; since the present designates not a point of time but a quality of action, it is always ready for use as a future. See also §104, e.

Below, in §248a, we shall find a few cases of verbal nouns in *tar* (nominative, *tā*) varying with finite verb-forms; attention may be called to them here, because they are forerunners of the later periphrastic future (Whitney §946).

(a) Present and Future

tebhya imam balim harisṣyāmi *tebhya imam balim ahārṣam* ApMB.:
tebhyo namo 'etu balim ebhya harāmi PG.: *tebhyo balim puṣṭikāmo*

harāmi (AG. *dadāmi*) TAA. MahānU. AG. Cf. *balim ebhya harāmiṁmam* PG.

agne vrātapate vrātaṁ ālapṣye (KS. *ālabhe*) MS. KS. MŚ. Cf. *agne vrātapate iratam carisyāmi* VS. etc., see Conc.

(b) *Participles, Present and Future*

agnim kṣananta (TS. *kṣanisyanta*) *upasthe asyāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *bhūtam asi bhavad asi* Kauś.: *bhūtam asi bhavisyad asi* ŚŚ. 8. 21. 3.

(c) *Participles, Aorist and Future*

ratho na rājam sanisyann (SV. *sanizann*) *ayāsit* RV. SV. See §28, and Bloomfield, *SBE.* 42. 418.

(*net tvā...*) *dadhyg vidhakṣyan paryāṅkhayāte* (AV. *vidhakṣan parāṅkha-yātai*) RV. AV.: *net tvā...dadhad vidhakṣyan paryāṅkhayātai* TA.

See §27. The AV. reading was probably *vidhakṣyan*.

samhānāya svāhā VS. MS.: *samhāsyate svāhā* TS. KSA.

(d) *Participles, Perfect and Future*

(*susvāṇḍsa indra stumasi tvā*) *sasavāṇḍsa ca* (SV. *sanizyantaś cit*) *tvinṛmna rājam* RV. SV. 'We praise thee, O Indra, strong in manhood, after we have pressed (the soma) and after we have gained (or, about to gain) booty.'

rājam tvāgne jigīvāṇsam sasanvāṇsam (and, *jesyantaś sanizyantaś*) *sanimārjmi* Vait. (both).

CHAPTER V. THE SECONDARY CONJUGATIONS

§235. Of the conjugations included by Whitney under this heading, one, the Passive, has been treated above in the chapter on Voice, where it naturally belongs. Another, the Desiderative, is patently a mood in function, and appears in the Variants only in a very few cases where it interchanges with other moods; it has been treated in that connexion (§178). This leaves the Intensive, Causative, and Denominative. The interchanges concerning them are not numerous, nor, with one or two exceptions, do they mark any very important conditions or tendencies in the language of the mantras.

1. INTENSIVE

§236. As the intensive is a fairly frequent form in the Veda, the natural affinity between such ideas as 'lead forth': 'drag out', 'call': 'clamor', 'kill': 'slaughter', etc., manifests itself in corresponding interchanges between intensive and primary verb. Occasionally the interchange is promoted by another, outside locution; thus in the example *taṁ sarasvantam avase huvema* (*havāmahe; jōhavīmi*), we detect contamination with RV. 1. 34. 12 *śṛṇvantā vām avase jōhavīmi*, or RV. 3. 62. 2 *śakvattamam avase jōhavīti*.—In two examples, the last of our list, the form of the intensive itself is varied.—Of course all intensive forms are reduplicated; most of the alternative forms in the list are not reduplicated, but in the first four they likewise show reduplication.

pavamānasya jāñghnataḥ (SV. PB. *jighnataḥ*) RV. SV. PB.

indra vṛtrāṇi jighnate (ŚŚ. *jāñghanat*) RV. AV. ŚŚ. The ŚŚ. passage is in a different context.

aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge-aṅge nidīdhyat (TS. *ni dedhyat*; VSK. *nīdhitāḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §248.

sarasvatyā (AV. **tyām*) *adhi manāv* (KS. *mānā*, v. l. *mand*; AV. erroneously *maṇāv*; SMB. *vanāva*, corrected in Jørgensen to *manāv*) *acar-kṛṣuḥ* (KS. *acarkṛ*°, v. l. *acarkṛ*°; SMB. *cārkr̥dhi*, but Jørgensen *acarkṛṣuḥ*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. See §136. Jørgensen assumes that *acarkṛṣuḥ* is a phonetic variant of *acarkṛ*°, by dissimilation, referring to Wackernagel I §234 b.

taṁ sarasvantam avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*, KS. *jōhavīmi*) RVKh. AV. TS. etc., see §78.

ato no 'nyat pīlaro mā yosta (HG. *yūdhvam*) ApŚ. MŚ. HG.: mā no 'to
'nyat pīlaro yūdhvam AŚ.: mā vo 'to 'nyat pīlaro yoyuvata Kauś.
dakṣiṇam (and, *saryam*) pādām avanenīje AB. SMB. GG.: imau pādāv
avaniktau Kauś.

upaveśopavidhī naḥ TB. ApŚ.: cf. veśo 'sy upaveśo dviṣato grīvā upa
reviḍhī VSK.

yaṁ tvām ayaṁ (TS. KS. *tvāyaṁ*) svadhitis tejāmānaḥ (TS. KS. *teṭijānaḥ*;
MS. *tiḡmatejāḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS.

yad vāto apo (MS. MŚ. 'po) aṅanīḡan (TS. KSA. ApŚ. *aṅamat*) VS. TS.
MS. KSA. ApŚ. MŚ.

ava devānām yaḡa heḡa agne AV.: agne devānām ava heḡa iyakṡva (KS.
ikṡva) KS. ApŚ. Both *iyakṡva* and *ikṡva* are problematic, see §193.
pra bādhamānā (RV. and p.p. of MS. *prabādhānā*) rathyeḡa yāti RV.
MS.

Variant forms of Intensive

ni ḡalḡalīti dhārakā VS. ŚB.: ni *jalḡalīti* (KSA.† ed. *jalḡalīti* by em., ms.
jalḡalīti) dhānikā TS. KSA. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* 1002d; *gal-*
galīti is irregularly reduplicated.

kanikhunad iva sūpayan TB.: *canikhudad yathāsapam* AŚ. Unintelli-
gible stuff.

2. CAUSATIVE

§237. The interchanges of the causative are grouped under four heads:

a. Perhaps the most frequent and typical are those in which a neuter verb with subject expressed or implied is transposed to causative verb with another subject. The nominative subject of the first form then becomes accusative object in the second form. Thus in one and the same text (AV.), *vedir bhūmīr akalpata*, 'the earth shaped itself into a *vedi*': *vedīm bhūmīm kalpayitvā*, 'he having shaped the earth into a *vedi*.' Or, in different texts, *apām sadhiṡi sīda* TS.: *apām tvā sadhiṡi* (MS.† *sadhriṡu*) *sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

b. In a few cases, not all of them clear in their bearings, the causative still has causative meaning, being thus distinguished from the primary verb; but the subject and object remain the same, so that there is a more or less definite variation in the sense of the passage.

c. In a considerable number of cases, perhaps nearly as many as in the first group, causative and primary appear indifferently with the same meaning; these are, in other words, early examples of the fading out of the distinctive causative meaning of verb-forms in *aya*, which in

the later language becomes so noticeable, and which led in the Pāli-Pra-krit languages to the vast extension of the *-paya-* type, as a more clear and unmistakable causative formation.

d. Different forms of the causative.

a. *Causatives and primary verbs with transfusion of construction, resulting in equivalence of meaning in both clauses*

§238. There may be discovered in some of these cases a flavor of greater assurance or certainty in the causative form of expression, which would possibly bring these variants into the general sphere of modal variations. Nevertheless it seems to us that in general they are hardly more than mechanical equivalents. Besides the two cases mentioned above, we find:

viśvāsu tvā dīkṣu sādāyāmi KS. ApŚ.: *viśvāsu dīkṣu sīda* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.
arjave tvā sadane sādāyāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *arjave sadane sīda* TS.
ApŚ.

sarire (MS. *salile*) *tvā sadane sādāyāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *salile sadane sīda* TS.

samudre tvā sadane sādāyāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *samudre sadane sīda* TS.
apām tvā kṣaye sādāyāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *apām kṣaye sīda* TS.

apām tvā gahman sādāyāmi samudrasyodmann avataś chāyāyām MS.
MŚ.: *apām tvā gahman sādāyāmi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *apām gam-bhan sīda* VS. ŚB.

prthivyā mūrdhan sīda yajñiye loke KS.: *prthivyā tvā mūrdhan sādāyāmi yajñiye loke* ApŚ.

un nambhaya prthivīm TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. 'split open the earth': *pra nabhasva prthivi* AV. 'burst open, O earth' AVPpp. agrees with the others.

evam aham āyusā medhaya varcasā... samedhiṣya SMB.: *evam mām āyusā... samedhaya* ApMB. HG. Cf. *brahmavarcasenānnādyena samedhaya* AG. HG. 'May I prosper (make me to prosper) with life' etc.

brahmavarcasam māgamyāt TS. 'let holy splendor come to me': *brahmavarcasam mā gamayet* Vait. 'let him make holy splendor come to me.'

apa cakrā avṛtsata KB. ŚŚ.: *mā cakrā avṛtsata* MS.†: *apa cakrāni var-taya* TB. ApŚ.

dr̥ṣṭhantām daivir viśaḥ kalpanitām manuṣyāḥ KS.†: *kalpayataḥ daivir viśaḥ kalpayataḥ mānuṣāḥ* TB. ApŚ.

r̥ṣayaḥ (sc. *tr̥pyantu*) AG. ŚG.: (*om*) *r̥ṣiṇe tarpayāmi* BDh. Also with *nakṣatrāṇi*, etc.

agnis tṛpyatu ŚG.: (*om*) *agnīm tṛpayāmi* BDh.

brahmā (sc. *tṛpyatu*) AG. ŚG.: (*om*) *brahmāyaṁ tṛpayāmi* BDh. Also with *prajāpatiḥ*, *viṣṇuḥ*, *vāyuḥ*, etc.

saṁjīvā (ApŚ. AŚ.*² *vikā*) *nāma stha tā imath* (AŚ. *imam amuṣ*) *saṁjīva-yata* MS. AŚ. (his) ApŚ.: *saṁjīva stha saṁjīvyāsam* AV.

uttamaṁ nākam (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *uttama nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *rohayainam*; TA. *rohemam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The TA. version may be rendered at a pinch, 'ascend thou this highest heaven.' But the meter, and text-chronology, show that it is really a corruption, phonetic in character (*aya*, *aye*:e).

jaiṇānaḥ (SV. *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaiḥ* RV. SV. 'Born, thou didst swell the sun (begetting the sun, thou didst swell him) with light.'

We may add one similar case in which the reduplicated (causative) aorist figures, cf. §201:

gaṇān me mā vi tīrṣaḥ (MŚ. °*ṣat*) TS. MŚ. 'do not make my troops go thirsty': *gaṇā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS. TS. ŚB. 'may my troops not go thirsty.'

§239. b. *Causative and primary verbs with corresponding change of meaning*

te arṣantu te varṣantu te kṛvantu LŚ. 'they (waters) shall flow, shall rain, shall perform': *te varṣanti te varṣayanti* AV. 'they rain, they cause to rain'.

maṇḍūkyā su saṁgamah (TA. *gamaya*) RV.† TA.: *maṇḍūky āpsu śam bhuvah* AV. 'Unite (thyself; or, unite it, sc. the ominous funeral fire) with the female frog.' Addressed to the water-plant (or plants) which are spoken of in the preceding pādas. The AV. has a mere corruption. TA. comm. reads *maṇḍūkyāsu* (= *maṇḍūkā-plavanayogyāsu āpsu*) *saṁgamaya* (= *imam pretadehaṁ prāpaya*, which is unintelligent).

(*vi na indra mṛdho jāhi*) *kanikhunad iva sāpayan* (AŚ. *canikhudad yath-āsapan*) TB. AŚ. Dubious; TB. comm. connects *kanikhunad* with *khan*; cf. Whitney, *Roots*, s. v. *khud*.

āsvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ. *abadhnata*) ŚB. ŚŚ. See §30.

Participles:

viṣṇuḥ bipivīṣṭa ūrā (VSK. *ūrā*) *āsannaḥ* VS. VSK.: *bipivīṣṭa āsāditaḥ* (KS. °*vīṣṭa ūrā āsādyamānaḥ*) TS. KS. Both forms may be rendered by the English 'seated'; yet the sense is not quite the same, since *sannaḥ* is neuter (intransitive), 'having taken his seat', while the other forms mean 'having been (or being) seated, given a seat.'

rucito gharmaḥ MS. KB. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *rocito gharma rucīya* TA.

deva gharma rucitas team deveṣe ā MS.: *rocitas team deva gharma deveṣu āsi* TA.

c. *Causatives and primary verbs, both in the same sense*

§240. The line between this and the last group is not always easy to draw, but in most of the following instances, at any rate, there seems to be no real difference in meaning between the causative verb-form and the non-causative, while in the preceding we seem to find at least a shade of difference. The meaning is, of course, always transitive, unless middle, and generally the primary verb is capable of an intransitive meaning too, which may often be suspected of being the older. Hence it is sometimes doubtful whether we should speak of 'causative in primary sense' or of 'primary in causative sense'. In the RV. itself we find such pairs as:

mādayasva (and, *mandasvā su*) *svarnare*, 'enjoy thyself at Svarṇara's sacrifice'; or,

mitra janān yādayati bruvāṇaḥ, 3. 59. 1, and *janān ca mitro yalati bruvāṇaḥ*, 7. 36. 2: 'calling himself Mitra, he orders (sets in order) the folk' (somewhat differently Geldner, *Ved. St.* 3. 15ff.). To find a difference in these cases would seem to us like hearing the grass grow. And, if possible even more surely, there cannot be the slightest difference in the following:

ud vandanam airayataḥ svar dṛśo 1. 112. 5; *ud vandanam airataḥ dānsanābhik* 1. 118. 6, 'ye (Aśvins) brought forth Vandana' etc.

In the Vāṅkhyā passages *yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavaḥ*, and, *yam te svadhāvan svadanti gūrtayāḥ*, the form *svadayanti* may not be causative; see §194.

§241. In the following list the approximation of the causative stem *janaya* to its primary correspondent is worthy of note. In the RV. already it is practically impossible to differentiate these two forms in the active, as in 3. 31. 15, *indro...ajanad...sūryam*; 9. 110. 3, *ajījanā hī pavamāna sūryam*:

īdām wasṛ ajanayat (MS. *var ajanan*, KS.† *wasṛ* [ms. *wasūr*] *ajanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS. MS. KS. The TS. is poor metrically.

madhu janīṣye (AV. *janīṣīya*) AV. TS. TA. ŚŚ. 'I shall (may I) generate honey': *madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayīṣyāmi madhu bhaviṣyati* JB.

āpo asmān (MS. *mā*) *mātarāḥ bṛndhayantu* (AV. MS. KS. *bṛdayantu*; TS. ApŚ. *bṛndhantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

arejetām (TB. *arejayatām*) *rodaṣi pājasā girā* RV. TB. The meter shows that TB. has a mere blunder, phonetic in character (hyper-Sanskritic *aya* for *e*, as a reaction against dialectic *e* for *aya*; our Phonetic Variants will show a considerable number of analogous cases). It is more or less the reverse of what has happened in the variant *uttamaṁ nākam* etc., §238.

ūrdhvām enām (VS. ŚB. LŚ. also, *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (VS. ŚB. also, *uc chrāpayā*; MS. *uñ chrāpayā*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. ApŚ. Both forms (in adjoining verses in VS. etc.) mean simply 'lift her (him) up.'

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ. °*yadhvam*) TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *nākaśya prṣṭhe sam iṣā madema* AV.

nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate (AA. *dadharṣa*; ŚŚ. *dadharṣayā*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. See §140.

ud dharṣantām maghavan vājīnām AV.: *ud dharṣaya maghavann* (AV. *savanām*) *āyudhāni* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. See §30. This variant properly belongs here since the difference in meaning between the verbs is obviously due to the difference of voice, not to that between causative and primary.

prāṇam me tarpayata (ŚŚ. *tṛmṣa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

satyena tvābhighārayāmi (AŚ. °*bhijigharmi*) TS. MS. AŚ. MŚ. 'I sprinkle thee with truth.' Cf. *satyābhighṛtaṁ* (KS. °*taṁ aṁ*) *satyena tvābhighārayāmi* MS. KS.

athaithe dhīṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpantām ihaiva HG.: *atho yatheme dhīṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpayantām ihaiva* MG.: *ime ye dhīṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam iha kalpatām* (read °*ntām*) AG.: *punar agnayo dhīṣṇyā* (ŚŚ. °*yāso*) *yathāsthānam kalpantām* (AV. *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva*; ŚŚ. *yathāsthānam dhārayantām ihaiva*) AV. ŚB. BrhU. ŚŚ. Cf. *yathāsthānam kalpayadhvam* ApŚ.

sūcibhiḥ śamyantu (TS. KSA. *śimpyantu*; MŚ. *śamayantu*) *tvā* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

The meanings of the verbs are not quite clear, but both *śamyantu* and *śamayantu* seem to be euphemistic expressions for 'kill'. For *śimpyantu* see Keith on TS. 5. 2. 11. 1.

vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā mā punātu AV.: 'Vaiśvānara the purifier shall purify me': *vaiśvānaraḥ parayān naḥ pavitraiḥ* TA. 'Vaiśvānara shall purify us with purifiers.'

[*nama uccairghoṣāyākrandayate* VS. TS.: *nama ākrandayata uccairghoṣāya* MS. KS.† The Conc. quotes *ākrandata* for KS.]

d. *Different forms of the Causative*

§242. In a few cases the grade of the root varies between the *guṇa* and *vr̥ddhi* stages (Whitney, *Grammar* 1042e, g); and in one the stems *sūdaya* and *svadayā* interchange, but the 'causative' value is here somewhat dubious:

yavayārāñh VS. TS. ŚB.: *yavayārātim* (KS. and MS. p. p. *yāv°*) MS. KS. Kauś.

yāvayāsmad dveṣam KS.: *yavayāsmad dveṣaḥ* TS. VS. ŚB. Kauś.: *yavaya* (v. 1. *yāv°*) *dveṣo āsmat* MS.: *yavayāsmad aghā dveṣāñsi* TS. *vasoṣpate ni ramaya* (N. and 2 mss. of AV. *rām°*) AV. N.: *vasupate ri ramaya* MS.

agnir havyam (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The AV. reading is metrically poor.

[*tatra havyāni gāmaya* (KS. Conc. *gamaya*; but von Schroeder reads *gām°* with one of three mss.) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.]

3. DENOMINATIVE

§243. The variants under this head are few. Most of them concern different vocalism before the denominative sign *ya*: *a*-stems appearing with *a* or *ā* (Whitney §1059 a, b), and variations between *i* and *ī*, zero and *i*, in this position. These changes were possibly rhythmic in origin; compare §§259ff. below, and see our volume on Phonetics, which will deal more systematically with such cases.

devān devayate (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *devā°*) *yaja* (MŚ. *yajamānāya svāhā*) RV. SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

agne prehi prathamā devayatām (AV. *devatānām*; MS. KS. *devāyatām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

apānudo janam amitrayantam (AV. *amitrā°*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

janīyanti nāu agravaḥ AV.: *janīyanto nū agravaḥ* RV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

putrīyantah (AV. *putrīyanti*) *śudānarah* RV. AV. SV. In the same stanza as the prec.; the *ī* (*i*), in place of stem-final *a* (*putra*), is probably suggested by the *ī* (*i*) of *janīya-* (stem *jani*, *jani*); cf. however Whitney §1059d.

devā devebhyo (MS. *deveṣv*) *adhvaryanto* (KS. *adhvarīyanto*) *asthuḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

apo vṛṣānah purate kavīyan (TS. *kavyan*) RV. SV. TS. KSA.

The remaining variants are unclassifiable. In the next following, both *a-* and *aya-*stems are best regarded as denominatives (*dikṣā*)—*agnir dikṣitah pṛthivī dikṣā sū mā dikṣā dikṣayatu* (JB. *dikṣeta*). . . JB. ApŚ. And others; see §§79, 160.

In a single case a sigmatic aorist from a denominative interchanges with a problematic reduplicated aorist made from a primary root: *amāmadanta pīlato yathābhāgam* (Kauś. °*gam yathālokaṃ*) *atṛṣṭyāṣata* (AŚ. °*ṣata*; ŚŚ. *atṛṣṭata*) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Kauś. SMB.

GO. KhG. See §§201, 285.

The stem *hr̥ṣya*, in *vājebhīr mā hr̥ṣiyathāh* SV.: *mā hr̥ṣīthā abhy asmān* RV., is considered a denominative by some authorities; but see §195.

CHAPTER VI. INTERCHANGE BETWEEN FINITE VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS

(In a broad sense, including participles, gerunds, etc.)

§244. We have previously dealt, as part of the chapter on modal variations, with a number of instances in which a perfect passive participle with or without copula interchanges with a modal form (§§143f.). Those cases are to be regarded as part of this chapter also. Additional interchange between finite verbs and verbal nouns is found on a considerable scale, and is here treated under three aspects. First, a finite form interchanges with a verbal noun without copula, most commonly a past participle, which performs the same function as a finite verb. Second, the finite form exchanges with a periphrastic combination of verbal noun plus copula or similar verbal form. Thirdly, in a combination of two coordinate finite verb forms, one exchanges with an attributive verbal noun which leans on the other verb in syntactic dependence.

1. *Interchange between predicative finite verbs and independent predicative verbal nouns without copula*

§245. Such cases are quite numerous. The older grammar was in the habit of defining this type of verbal noun as the elliptic residue of a combination of verbal noun and copula, the copula being 'understood' or 'supplied'. These correspondences support the now generally accepted theory that the verbal nouns in question perform rather the function of predicate verbs, directly and of themselves. They are far more frequent than the cases in which the copula is expressed (see 2, below); the copula is quite superfluous and originally was, no doubt, expressed only for emphasis or for some special reason. A good example of the perfect equivalence of such finite verbs and verbal nouns, without copula, is seen in the opening pādas of RV. 10. 17. 12 and 13 respectively: *yas te drapsa skandati yas te anśuh*, and *yas te drapsa skanno yas te anśuh*.

§246. In many of these cases the finite verb is active, the participle passive. These belong not only in this group, but also in the larger class of Active and Passive; see §§80ff. We begin with them:
yuktāś tisro vimrjāḥ sūryasya PB.: *yunajmi tisro viprcāḥ sūryasya te*
(MŚ. *tisro vīrtāḥ sūryāḥ sara [iti]*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

- yukto vāto 'ntarikṣeṇa te saha PB.: yunajmi vāyum antarikṣeṇa te (MŚ, tena) saha TS. ApŚ. MŚ.
 manyunā kṛtam BDh.: manyur akārṣit TAA. MahānU. ApDh.
 śirasā dhārayisyāmi (MahānU. dhārita devī) TA. MahānU.
 caritrāṇa te śundhāmi VS. ŚB.: śuddhāś caritraḥ TS. ApŚ.
 stomasya dhāman nihitam (KS. nyadhām) puriṣyam MS. KS.
 āpāma manasā VS. ŚB. KŚ. (VS. comm. prāptavantaḥ): āptam manah
 TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
 upasṛjāmi ApŚ. MŚ.: upasṛṣṭaḥ ŚB.
 yasmān devā adhi viṣve nīṣeduḥ (Mbh. viṣaktāḥ) RV. AV. TB. TA. Ma-
 hān U. Śvet U. Nṛp U. N. Mbh. (ed. Sukthankar, I. 3, 65c).
 hata me pāpmā AG. MG.: pāpmā me hataḥ AG.: pāpmānaḥ te 'pahan-
 maḥ KŚ.: pāpmānaḥ me hata (Kauś. 'pa jahi) MG. Kauś. And
 others, see Conc. under pāpmānaḥ me.
 āhataḥ (VS. ŚB. āhanti) gabhe paṇaḥ VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. TB.: āhataḥ
 pazo nicalcalitti MS.
 hataḥ te atrinā krimaḥ (GG. kṛ^o) SMB. GG. KhG.: atrinā tvā krime han-
 mi TA. ApŚ.: atrivad vāḥ krimayo hanmi AV. 'Slain is thy worm by
 Atri', or, 'I slay thee (you), O worm(s), by (like) Atri.'
 athaiṣām bhinnakāḥ kumbhaḥ SMB. 'then their receptacle has been
 miserably smashed' (imprecatory, or perhaps contemptuous,
 diminutive): bhīnaḥ te kuṣumbham AV. (for which Ppp. has,
 atho bhīnaḥ tam kumbham).
 ghanena hanmi vṛścikā RVKh. AV.: hataḥ vṛścika te viṣam Mahābh.
 apiśṛṇḍ u prṣṭayaḥ: and, prṣṭir api śṛṣṭmasi AV. (both)
 mīlhanam karṇayoh kṛdhi (SMB. kṛtam) AV. SMB. 'Mark the pair (of
 calves; or, the pair is marked) on the ears.'
 śraddhāyām prāṇe nivīṣyāmṛtaḥ kutam (TAA. nivīṣṭo 'mṛtam juhomi)
 TA. TAA. MahānU. BDh. VHDh.: amṛtaḥ ca prāṇe juhomi Prā-
 nāg U. Also with apāne, udāne, vyāne, samāne; and the same with-
 out the word śraddhāyām; see Conc.
 [yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS. bibhrato) jālavēdāḥ AV. KS.: yatra-yatra jāla-
 vedāḥ sambabhūtha (TB. Bibl. Ind. ed. °va, Poona ed. correctly °tha)
 TB. ApŚ. But both AV. (most mss. bibhṛto or bibhrato) and KS.
 (v. I. bibhṛto) are very obscure; it is questionable whether the
 variant belongs here.]

§247. In a smaller group the finite verb is middle (reflexive) with active value. Again the interchange is in effect the same as between active and passive, to be regarded in connexion with those treated in §80ff.:

teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam RVKh.: *yeṣām apsu sadas* (TS. ApMB. *sailuh*) *kṛtam* VS. TS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB.: *ye apsu sailāṅsi* (KS. 'psu *sailāṅsi*) *cakrire* MS. KS. 'Their (whose) seat was made in the waters': 'who made their (own) seats in the waters.'

tvām yajñeṣv idyah RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tvām yajñeṣv idate* RV.

antar dadhe parvatāḥ HG. ApMB. 'I interpose with the mountains': *antarhitā girayah* ŚG. 'the mountains have been interposed.'

antar dadha rtubhiḥ HG. ApMB.: *antarhitā ma rtavaḥ* ŚG. As pree. *rocate* VADh.: *rocitam* MDh.

dakṣiṇam (and, *suryam*) *pādam avanenije* AB. SMB. GG. KhG. 'I scrub the right (left) foot': *imau pādau araniktau* Kauś. (in different connection), 'these two feet have been washed.'

§248. In the majority of cases, however, the verbal remains upon the same plane with the finite verb, whether active or middle; that is, both predicates, whatever their forms, express the predicative idea in the same voice. The difference between this and the class just listed will be made clear by contrasting the variant *teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam*, etc., above, in which the middle with active meaning exchanges with a passive participle, with the following:

nānā hi vām devahitām sadas (TB. ApŚ. *sadoḥ*) *kṛtam* (TB.* ApŚ.* *sado mitam*) VS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *nānā hi devaiḥ cakrpe sado vām* KS. Here *cakrpe* (see Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, December 1906, p. 10) is passive in force, like *kṛtam*: 'variously by the gods a seat has been made for you.'

pūrvo ha (TA. MahānU. *hī*) *jātaḥ* (JUB. *ajāṇe*) *sa u garbhe antaḥ* VS. TA. ŚvetU. MahānU. ŚirasU. JUB.: *prathamō jātaḥ* etc. AV.: 'he was the first born (of old), and he is yet within the womb.'

yo agnir agner adhyajāyata (TS. MS. KS. *agnes tapaso 'dhi jātaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yas ta ātmā paśuḥ praviṣtaḥ TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *yas te prāṇaḥ paśuḥ praviṣtaḥ* KŚ. VSK.: *yā te tanūḥ pītṛṣv āviveśa* AV. Here the participle, tho passive in form, is active in meaning, since the verb is intransitive.

ya āvīṣto vayasau yo mṛgeṣu AV.: *vayāṅsi ya āviveśa yo mṛgeṣu* MS. KS. ApŚ.

dikṣito 'yam aśā āmugyāyanaḥ MS. MŚ.: *dikṣito 'yam brāhmaṇaḥ* ŚB.: *adikṣiṣṭāyam brāhmaṇaḥ* TS. ApŚ.

aindra udāno aṅge-aṅge nidhītaḥ (VSK. *nididhe*) VS. VSK. ŚB.: *aindra 'pāno* (and, *vyāno*) *aṅge-aṅge vibodhuvat* (MS.† *nī bo*°; KS. *nididhyat*)

TS. MS. KS. This and the following item are full of morphological and etymological problems. Perhaps render: 'Udāna (etc.) from Indra has been sucked (?) into every limb.' On the active *nīdīdhyat* cf. the next.

aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge-aṅge nīdīdhyat (TS. *ni dedhyat*, VSK. *nīdīdhyat*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec. The active is anomalous; Mahidhara, *nīdīdhyat*; Keith, 'may... be set'. It seems that it cannot be transitive.

yatrā (MS. **yatra*) *naḥ pūrve pīlaraḥ paretāḥ* (RV. MS.* *pareyuh*) RV. AV. MS. (both): *yenā te pūrve pīlaraḥ paretāḥ* AV.

yasmā bhīṣā sañjñaptāḥ (ApŚ. *samajñāsthāḥ*) ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'from fear of which thou (the animal victim) hast been slain (from that make us exempt).'

tan me 'rādhi (Kauś. *rāddham*) VS. TS. TA. Kauś.: *tenārātsyam* (ŚŚ. MŚ. GG. v. 1. **rātsam*, the correct reading) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. GG. See §§28, 85. As to the latter form, this item belongs under the first group above.

om svadhocyatām AG.: *astu svadheti vaktavyam* Vait.: *prakṛtebhyah svadhocyatām* YDh.

ṛtubhiḥ prabhuh (KS. *prābhavat*) TS. KS.

samvatsareṇa paribhuh (KS. *pariyabhavat*) TS. KS.

somāya vaca udyatam (SV. *ucyate*) RV. SV.

bāhū rājanyah kṛtāḥ (AV. **nyo 'bhavat*) RV. AV. VS. TA. VāDh.

tapasā ye svar yayuh (TA. *svavar gatāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

amṛtateḍya ghoṣayah (SV. **yan*) RV. SV. The subject is soma; there is no finite verb in the passage with the SV. reading (nom. sg. act. pple.). Cf. next.

bradhnah samīcīr uṣasah sam airayat (AV. **yan*) AV. SV. ApŚ. MŚ. With the AV. reading there is no finite verb in the passage, and Whitney reads *airayat* with the rest; but cf. prec.

vācaspatē 'chīdrayā vācāchīdrayā juhvā divi devārdham hotrām airayat (KS. **yant*; TA. *arayasva*; ŚŚ. *airayassa*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ. omits) ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. KS.

vavakṣa (3 sg. perf. mid.) *ṛṣvo astṛtaḥ* RV. AV.: *vavakṣur* (adj., desiderative) *ugro astṛtaḥ* TB. ApŚ.

vaśdyā dugdham apīban, and (next vs) *va° dugdham pītvā*, AV.

patnī yīyapsyate (ŚŚ. *yīyapsyamānā*) *jaritāḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ.

varebhīr varān abhi ṣu pra śidataḥ (ApMB. **ta*) RV. ApMB. In RV. a gen. sg. pple., agreeing with Indra; *varebhīr* applies to the Maruts; is *śidata* of ApMB. addressed to them?

[*sam agnis tapasāgata* VS. MS. ŚB.: *svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata* TA. 4. 7. 2 and 5. 6. 6. So Poona ed. in both places. Conc. with Bibl. Ind. ed. quotes *gataḥ* for 4. 7. 2; this is read by one ms. and comm. in Poona ed.]

Anticipations of the Periphrastic Future in -tā

§248a. We group separately a few variants in which the verbal noun which varies with a finite verb is the nominative of a *nomen agentis* in *-tar*. These forms are, of course, interesting as precursors of the later periphrastic future; cf. Whitney §946. They are found varying with the present indicative, imperative (including that in *taḥ*), optative, and injunctive (? subjunctive); the copula is not used with them:

yo dāśuṣaḥ sukṛto havam eti (TS. MS. KS. *havam upa gantā*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

somaḥ punānaḥ kalāseṣu śidati (and, *śattā*) RV. (both)

yantā no avṛkaḥ chardīḥ; pra no yachātād (*prāsmāi yachātām*) *apṛkaḥ pṛthū chardīḥ* RV. (all)

gamat sa (*gamema*, *sa gantā*) *gomati vraje* RV. (all). On *gamat*, commonly regarded as subj. but taken by us as a-aor. injunctive because of *gamema*, see §174.

2. *Interchange between finite form and periphrasis of verbal noun and copulaic verb*

§249. We have drawn attention above to the rarity of this construction compared with the use of the verbal noun without copula as predicate. In the first two of the following brief list we have variation between active and passive constructions, as in §246 above:

ahnā yod enaḥ kṛtam asti kim cit (ŚŚ. *enaḥ cakṛmeḥa kim cit*; ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB. *asti pāpam*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.

ayam vai tvām ajanayad ayam tvad adhiḥjāyatām asau svāhā ŚŚ.: *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si tvad ayam jāyatām punaḥ* VS. ŚB. TA. KS. Karmap.: *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā ayam tvad adhi jāyatām asau* (AG. *asau svargāya lokāya*) *svāhā* AG. Kauś.: *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā eṣa tvaj jāyatām* JB.

kim it te viṣṇo paricakṣyam bhāt (SV. *paricakṣi nāma*) RV. SV. TS. MS. N. devo *devebhyah pavava* VS. ŚB.: *devo devānām pavitram asi* TS. MS. KS. *vīśvā rūpāṇi pari tā babhūva* (AV. *paribhūr jājana*) AV. VS. ŚB.

layāhaṁ varādhamaṇo bhūyāsam ūpyāyamānaḥ ca ApMB.: *varādhīṣimahi ca vayam ā ca pyāyīṣimahi* (MS. MŚ. *pyāyīṣimahi*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. HG.

prathasva VS. ŚB.: *pratho* 'si TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

sa yathā teaṁ rucyā roco 'sy eadāṁ paśubhiḥ ca brāhmaṇavarcaśena ca ruciṣṭiya (MS. *teaṁ rucyā rocasa evam ahaṁ rucyā ruciṣṭiya*) AV. MS.

And similarly *sa yathā teaṁ bhrājatā* etc., see §57.

rociṣṭiyāṁ manuṣyeṣu TA.: *surucitaṁ mām devamanuṣyeṣu kuru* MS. *kuru* is a sort of causative copula.

3. Interchange between one of two coordinate verbs and a verbal noun dependent on the other verb

§250. These cases are much commoner than either of the two preceding groups. The verbal noun, whether participle, gerund, or other non-finite form, takes the place of a finite form in cases where there is another finite verb upon which the verbal noun may lean as an attributive; and vice versa. Or, stated otherwise, two correlative finite verbs exchange with a finite verb and a dependent verbal noun. We might antecedently have expected that there would appear a tendency for later texts to tend to prefer the dependent verbal noun; but we are unable to discover any clear evidence for such a tendency among the variants.

varcayā mukhaṁ mā na āyuh pramoṣiḥ HG. 'make lustrous our face, do not steal our life': *śundhi śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣiḥ* AG. PG. ApMB. MG. 'purify his head, do not steal his life': *kumbhaṁ mukhaṁ mā na āyuh pra moṣiḥ* AV. 'purifying our face, do not steal our life.' In AV. Whitney proposes to read with one ms. and Ppp. *śumbhan*; he calls *kumbhaṁ* unintelligible, but it seems to us interpretable as a gerund (Whitney, *Grammar*, §995). SPP. *śubhaṁ*.

(*manṣibhiḥ pavate pārvyāḥ kavir, nṛbhir yataḥ pari kośān acikradat*), *tritasya nāma janayan madhu kṣarat*, (*indraya vāyoḥ sakhyāya kartace*) RV. 9. 86. 20, 'thru the wise (sacrificers) the sage of yore (Soma) purifies himself; held by men he hath shouted thru the vessels. Begetting the name of Trita he shall make flow honey in order to procure the friendship of Indra and Vāyu.' In SV. 2. 172c the participle *kṣaran*, 'flowing', replaces the finite verb *kṣarat*, 'shall make flow'; the construction is equally easy either way, because *kṣaran* leans on the finite verb of the first line. This type of interchange between RV. and SV. will be found several other times below.

(*ā tvā vatso gamed ā kumāra*) *ā dhenavaḥ sāyam āsyandamānāḥ* AV.: (*enām kiśuh krandat ā kumāra*) *ā syandantām dhenavo nityavatsāḥ* ŚG.: (*ā tvā kiśur ā krandat*) *ā gāvo dhenavo vāsyamānāḥ* PG.

vājino vājayito 'dhvāna skabhnuranto yojanā mimānāḥ kāṣṭhāḥ gachata VS. ŚB.: *adhvānaḥ skabhnuranto yojanā mimānāḥ kāṣṭhāḥ gachata* MS.: *vi yojanā mimādhvam adhvāna skabhnūta kāṣṭhāḥ gachata* TS. Here two participles, dependent on a following finite verb, vary with two finite verbs correlative with the latter.

ghnanto (MS. ApŚ. *ghnatā*) *vrtrāṇy aprati* AV. TS. MS. KŚ. ApŚ. The interchanging forms are preceded by finite verbs.

[*indra iva vrtrahā tiṣṭha* (MS. *dasyuhā bhava*),] *apah kṣetrāṇi samjayan* (MS. °*ya*) MS. TB. ApŚ.

āyur dadhat yajñapatāv (MS. KS. °*tā*) *arihrutam* RV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ.: *āyur yajñapatāv adhat* (JB. *ayām*) AB. JB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Each is the 2d pāda of its stanza, but the two stanzas are otherwise wholly different. However, each has a parallel finite verb in pāda 1, on which the pple. *dadhat* depends. *pari dyāvōpṛthivī sadya āyam* (VS. *itrā*) AV. VS. Followed by (different) finite verbs.

taṁ tvdbhiḥ suṣṭutibhir vājayanta, ājīm na jagmur gīrvāho āsvāḥ RV.: *taṁ tvā gīrah suṣṭutayo vājayanty, ājīm na gīrvāvāho jigyor āsvāḥ* SV. *anavahūyāsmān* (KS. adds *devi dakṣiṇe*) *devayānena pathā* (TS. *patheta*, KS. *pathā yati*) *sukṛtāṁ loka śidata* (KS. *śida*) TS. MS. KS.

varṣman kṣatrasya (AV. *rāṣṭrasya*) *kakubhi* (TB. Poona ed. also °*bhi*, but comm. and Bibl. Ind. ed. °*bhiḥ*; comm. gloss *uttamāṅge*; MS. *kakubbhiḥ*; AV. *kakudā*) *śīrīyāṇaḥ* (AV. TB. *śrayasva*) AV. TS. MS. TB. Followed in all by *tato na ugro vi bhajā rasūni*.

viśvāvasur abhi tan no grṇātu, divyo gandharvo rajaso vimānaḥ, yad vā ghā satyam uta yan na vidma, dhiyo hinvāno dhiya in no aryaḥ RV. TA.: *viśebhir adhi tan no grṇāno, rajaso vimāno, yad vā ghā satyam uta yan na vidma, dhiya invāno dhiya in no aryaḥ* MS. (apparently defective and corrupt).

[*upa no mitrāvaruṇāḥ ihāvatam* (MS. *utā no mitrāvaruṇā ihāgalam*)] *anvādidhyātām iha* (MS. *manmā didhyānā utā*) *naḥ sakhāyā* MS. TB. TA.

dāsyann adāsyann uta saṁgrṇāmi (TA. *uta vā kariṣyan*) AV. TA.: *dhipsyann vā saṁcakara janebhyah* MS.: *yad vādāsyann saṁjagārā janebhyah* TB. Ppp. also reads *vā kariṣyan* for *saṁgrṇāmi* of AV. 6. 71. 3. For others, see §231.

uṣaḥ śreyasāḥ-śreyasīr dadhat (so read with Poona ed. of TB.) TB. ApŚ.: *uṣām-uṣām śreyasīḥ dhehy asmai* AV. Joined in TB. ApŚ. to what in AV. is the next verse, ending: *rāyasapoṣam iṣam ūrjam asmāsu dhehi* TB. ApŚ., *aiṣām ūrjam rayīm asmāsu dhehi* AV.

tirah purā cid arṇavam jagannān (SV. °vān jagamyāh) RV. AV. SV.
Preceded in RV. AV. by *varṣtyām* (SV. *varṣtyuh*).

[*iyarti dhūmam aruṣam* (MS. KS. °ṣo) *bharibhrad*] *uc chukreṇa śociṣā*
dyām inakṣan (TS. ApMB. °kṣat) RV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ApMB.
See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 299.

upasrjan (AŚ. °jan; ŚG. *upa srjam*) *dharuṇam mātṛe* (AB. AŚ. omit
mātṛe) *dharuṇo mātaram* (AB. AŚ. LŚ. MŚ. *mātaram dharuṇo*;
ApŚ. *mātara dharuṇo*) *dhayan* (followed by, *rāyas poṣam* . . . *asmāsu*
dīdharat) VS. AB. ŚB. JB. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. But the read-
ing -*srjan* is doubtful; perhaps -*srjan* is to be read everywhere.
'Loosing (I have loosed) the suckling (to his dam), the suckling as he
milks his dam—may he maintain growth of wealth among us.'

[*rdhad yas te sudānave*] *dhiyā martah śakamate*, [*āfi sa bṛhato divo, divo*
añho na taratī] RV. 'der mann gedeihet welcher dir dem reichen
dienet andachtsvoll; er durch des grossen himmels schutz durch-
setzt den feind wie eine schlucht' (Grassmann): [*sa ghā yas te divo*
naro] *dhiyā martasya śamatah*, [*āfi sa bṛhato divo, divo añho na*
taratī] SV. (very corrupt; hardly deserves citation under this rub-
ric; *śamatah* gen. sg. ppl. with *martasya*).

sahasrapoṣam puṣyantī paramēṇa paśunā kṛiyasva (KS. *kṛiyase*) MS.
KS.: *paramēṇa paśunā kṛiyase sahasrapoṣam puṣeyam* VS. ŚB.:
tasyās te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantiāś paramēṇa paśunā kṛiāmi TS.

saha jarāyundva surpatu (ApMB. °yundh nīkṛamya) HG. ApMB. Prec.
by *ejatu* in both. For other forms of the variant see §329.

[*hinvāno vācam iṣyasi, paramāna vidharmāṇi*] *akrān devo na sūryah* RV.:
[*jayānāno vācam iṣyasi, paramāna vidharmāṇi*] *krandam devo na sū-*
ryah SV.

tā devir devatremam yajñam nayata (KS. *kṛtvā*, TS. MS. *dhatta*), followed
by *upahūtīh somasya pibata*, VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

dīrgham āyur yajamānāya kṛṇvan (MŚ. *vinda*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.; followed
in TB. ApŚ. by *aṅgāhi*, in MŚ. by *āsīdasva*.

te (masc. plur.) *no nakṣatre havam āgamiṣṭhāh* ('most coming', followed
by *juṣantām*) TB. 3. 1. 1. 6c: *te* (fem. dual) *no nakṣatre havam ā*
gametam (2 dual opt.) TB. 3. 1. 3. 1d.

svargān (AŚ. text *svagān*; Vait. *svargam*) *arvanto jāyata* (AŚ. °taḥ; Vait.
jayema) SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Preceded by *agman*. AŚ., if not cor-
rupt, understands *jāyatah* as nom. plur. ppl.; cf. §306.

avimuktacakra (sc. fire) *āsīran* PG.: *virṣṭacakrā* (sc. *prajāh*) *āsīnāh*
ApMB. HG. (here preceded by *dhuh*).

ahāh śarīram (TB. *ahāc charīram*) *payasā śameti* (TB. *śametya*) TB.
Vait. Followed by *bhavatī*.

patyur anuvratā bhūteā AV.: *agner anuvratā bhūtvā* TS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApMB.: *mām anuvratā bhava* HG. The first two versions are followed by finite verbs.

sarāḥ patatrinīḥ sthāna (KS. *stha*) TS. MS. KS.: *sarā patatrinī bhūteā* AV. (here followed by *ehi*): *śrāḥ patatrinī sthāna* RV. VS.

abhyarṣan (SV. *abhy arṣa*) *stotṛbhyo vīravat yaśaḥ* RV. SV. In both *parate* precedes.

(*ā te yatante rathyo yathā prthak*) *chardhānsy agne ajarāṇi* (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. See §27.

tiṣṭhann (GB. *carate*) *āśino yadi vā svapann apī* ŚB. GB. Prec. in both by *śramād anyatra parivartamānaḥ* (not *°nāḥ* as Conc. reads).

(*vi yat paritram dhīṣaṇā atanevā*) *gharmaṁ śocantaḥ* (AŚ. *śocanta*, ŚŚ. *°taṁ*) *pravaveṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *praveṣu*) *bibhrataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. We have no confidence in the edition of AŚ. on such a reading as *śocanta*.

abandhve eke dadataḥ prayachanto, dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV. 'some without relatives, giving, bestowing—if they be able to give, that is very heaven' (Whitney): *abandhve eke dadata prayachād, dātum cec chaknuvānsaḥ svarga eṣām* TA. Both forms are poor and probably corrupt. In TA. read *dadataḥ* with comm. and Poona ed. text; probably also *chaknuvān* (or better *°vān*) *sa* with Poona ed. text, which notes v. l. *chaknuvānsaḥ*; the comm. explains *prayachāt* as *prayachanti*, which suggests that *prayachān* is to be read with AVPpp.

caraty ananuvratā ApMB. HG.: *vicaranty apatīratā* ŚG. MDh. Both preceded by finite *pralulubhe* or *pralulobha*.

trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MS. *°gaḥ*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *saṁsarpa* (KS. *°pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ. *°gān lokān*) KS. ApŚ. Followed by *yacha*. See §130.

yajāno (or *yajā no*, so Garbe's ed. of ApŚ., followed by Caland's Transl.; the others all *yajāno*; MS. p. p. *yajānaḥ*; some mss. *yajamāno*; TB. comm. interprets as pple.) *devān* (MS. *devo*) *ajarah svīrah* (associated with *gopāya naḥ*) MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. It is questionable whether *yajā no* has any standing.

datto (= *datta u*) *asmabhyam* (KS. *dattedyāśma*°, AŚ. *dattidyāśma*°, SMB. *dattāśma*°) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatā no draviṇam yac ca bhadram* MS. Followed by sundry finite verbs.

sa im vṛṣājanayat (KS. *vṛṣā janayats*) *tāsu garbham, sa im kīśur dhayati taṁ rihanti* RV. KS. The Conc. suggests emendation of KS. to *-janayat*; but von Schroeder keeps his text, which is no doubt interpretable if somewhat harsh.

śataṁ jīvantu (AV. °taḥ) *śaradaḥ purūciḥ* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. ApMB. Followed by *antar* (tiro) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (*dadhmahe*) *parevalena*.

āprīḥānau vijahatā arātīn (TB. ApŚ. *saṁjānānau vijahatām arātīr*), *divi* (KS. *divē*) *jyotir uttamam* (TB. ApŚ. *ajaram*) *ārabbhethām* (TB. ApŚ. °tām) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *vijahatā(u)*, dual pple.; °tām, 3 dual impv.

prajāṁ ajāryān naḥ kuru, *rāyas poṣeṇa saṁ sṛpa* SMB.: *prajāṁ sūcīrām* (PG. *sūcīryām*) *kr̥tā*, *vīśvam* (PG. *dirgham*) *āyur ey aśnavat* (PG. °vai) TS. PG.

ahar-ahar (AV. TS. *rātrīm-rātrīm*; MS. KS. ŚB.* *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvam bharantaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ahar-ahar bahim it te harantaḥ* AV.: *vīśadhā te sadam id bharema* AV. Followed by finite verb.

(*upakṣaranti juheo ghṛtēna*) *prīyāny aṅgāni tava vardhayantīḥ* (sc. *śrueḥ*) TB.: *abhikṣaranti juheo ghṛtēnāṅgā parāṅsi tava vardhayanti* (one ms. °ā, pointing also to °āḥ) Vait.

sa pūrvavaj janayaṁ (TA. ApŚ. °yaj) *jantave dhanam* RV. PB. TA. ApŚ. Followed by *pary eti* (*pari yāti*) in next pāda. The secondary character of *jandyaḥ* (sol) in TA. is emphasized by its retention of the accent of *jandyan*.

tat tam ārohāso medhyo bhava TA. (Poona ed. *bhavam*, but v. 1. and comm. *bhava*), 'do thou, O spirit, ascend, become sacrificial': *tad ā roha puruṣa medhyo bhavan* AV. 'ascend that, O man, becoming sacrificial.' See Whitney's *Transl.* and note. Most mss. do not accent *bhavan*.

pratiṣṭhām gacha (GB. *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB. °yet) AB. GB. Gaastra considers GB. corrupt.

dyumnāṁ vṛṇāta puṣyase (KS. *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *dyumne vareta puṣyatu* KS. Cf. §163. *puṣyase* is infinitive.

tenedhyasva vardhasva cedīha (HG. *cendhi*) AG. HG. The word *indhi* (*iddha*) is better taken, with Oldenberg, as part of the following phrase, *vardhaya cāmān* (in both).

ahtāś ca sarvāṁ jambhaya, *sarvāś ca yātudhānyo*, 'dharāciḥ parā suva' KS.: *ahtāś ca sarvān* (TS. °vān) *jambhayan*, *sarvāś ca yātudhānyaḥ* (VS. MS. °dhānyo, 'dharāciḥ parā suva') VS. TS. MS.

dheṇtām cātāgram anuśamcarantaḥ (PB. *abhisaṁ*°) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.: *dheṇtā vātā agnim* (mss. *vātāgnim*, both texts) *abhi ye saṁ caranti* MŚ. MG. The principal verb follows in the last pāda.

sāhyāma (RV. *sāhvāṁso*) *dasyum avratam* RV. SV. Pree. in both by 1 plur. finite verbs.

samānāṁ yonīm anu saṁcarantī (AV. MS. °carete) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. Followed by *carataḥ*. The ed. of KS. reads °carete also, but the single ms. °carante, which as the editor observes might quite as well stand for °carantī.

ādityaṁ garbhaṁ payasā sam aṅgdhi (TS. KS. *samañjan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *parivṛṇgdhi*.

ubhayor lokayor ṛddhvā (MŚ. *ṛdhnomi*) TB. TAA. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *(ati) tarāmi*.

[*punāno vāraṁ pary ety* (SV. *vāraṁ aty eṣy*) *avyayam*] *ḥyeno na yonīm gṛtāvāntam āsadam* (SV. °dat) RV. SV. ApŚ. *āsadam* is infin., 'to sit'; SV. makes it a finite verb, 'he has sat', which goes very ill with the 2d person *eṣi* which SV. substitutes for RV. *eti*. Compare the *pāda ḥyeno na yonīm āsadat*, RV. etc., which seems to have influenced SV.

janyanti nāḥ agravaḥ, putriyanti sudānavaḥ AV.: *janyanto nḥ agravaḥ, putriyantaḥ sudānavaḥ* RV. SV. (followed by *havāmahe*).

[*vṛṣṭir divaḥ parasma rītim apāṁ* (SV. *apo*)] *jineṣṭ* (SV. *jinevan*) *gaviṣṭaye dhiyaḥ* RV. SV.

jyok ca sūryaṁ dṛṣe (LŚ. *dṛṣeyam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. LŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.

(*parārciṣā mūradevāṁ chr̥ṣīhi*) *parāśutṛpaḥ śośucataḥ śṛṇīhi* (RV. °trpo *abhiśośucānaḥ*) RV. AV.

devā amuñcann (AV. *muñcanto*) *asṛjan vy* (AV. *nir*) *enasah* AV. TB. HG. ApMB.

puṣyema (AA. *puṣyanto*) *rayiṁ dhāmahe ta* (AA. *tam*) *indra* SV. AA. ŚŚ. See Keith, AA. 285, note 7.

(*yo . .*) *hṛdārātīpād* (KS. °yann) *abhidāśad agne* KS. TB. ApŚ. Caland on ApŚ. not unnaturally thinks of reading *abhidāśād*, to match *arātīpād*; but KS. is against it.

marmṛjyante (SV. *marjayantir*) *divaḥ śikūṁ* RV. SV. Prec. by *abhy anūṣata*.

mā mā (KS. *mām*) *hiṁśiṣṭaṁ svaṁ* (KS. *yat svaṁ*) *yonīm āviśantau* (KS. *āviśāthaḥ*) MS. KS.: *mā mā hiṁśiḥ svām* (KS.† *svaṁ*) *yonīm āviśanti* (KS. TB. ApŚ. *āviśan*) VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

ut tiṣṭha (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *utthāya*) *brhatti* (TA. *brhan*) *bhava* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. MŚ.

(*yad dha kr̥ṇā rivasvati*) *nābhā samdāyi navyaṣi* (*adha pra sū na upa yantu dhītayaḥ*) RV.: (*yad dha kr̥ṇā rivasvate*) *nābhā samdāya navyase* (*adha pra nūnam upa yanti dhītayaḥ*) SV.

stuṣṭeṣyaṁ puruvarpasam r̥bhvam RV. AV. N.: *stuṣṭa varṣman puruvar-*

mānam samṛbhvāṇam AV. *stuṣeyya* is a gerundive formation, 'him that should be praised', dependent on a verb of the prec. stanza. In the other form a different stanza precedes, and the finite *stuṣva* (which, as impv., transfuses the same idea into other words) is therefore substituted.

venas tat paśyat paramaṣṇ guhā yat (VS. *paśyan nihitam guhā yat*; TA, MahānU. *paśyan viṣṭā bhuvanāni vidvān*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. Here there is no verb on which the participle *paśyan* can depend, TA. comm. lamely supplies *variate*.

[*bradhnaḥ samicir uṣasā samairayat* (AV. °*yan*) AV. SV. ApŚ. MŚ. Again there is no finite verb here on which the pple. might depend; and Whitney adopts the SV reading.]

[*ariṣṭair naḥ pathibhiḥ pārayantā* (GB. °*tu*) RV. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. But GB. is merely corrupt. Gastra reads with one ms. °*tā* (dual pple.).]

[*daṁsanābhīr aśvinā pārayantā* (TB. °*tām*) RV. TB. Poona ed. also °*tām*; but comm. °*tā*, dual pple., which is the only possible form, a plural verb being uninterpretable.]

CHAPTER VII. INTERCHANGES BETWEEN EQUIVALENT PERSONAL ENDINGS

§251. The variants avail themselves freely of the possibilities of equivalent personal verb endings. The ranging of these interchanges covers nearly all the grammatical territory concerning this matter. We deal with them as follows:

1. *r*-endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without *r*.
2. Subjunctive endings in *ai* and *s*, *ti* and *t*, *te* and *tai*, *sake* and *sahai*, *mahe* and *mahai*.
3. Imperatives in *tāi* interchanging with other imperatives.
4. Presence or absence of imperative 2d singular *dhi* (*hi*), and interchange between *dhi* and *hi*.
5. Second plural active endings with or without final *na*.
6. Endings in *a* sometimes rhythmically lengthened to *ā*.
7. Miscellaneous interchanges of endings.

1. *r*-endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without *r*

§252. There are two variations between *ram* and *ran* with wavering chronological indications (RV. *adṛāram*, AV. *adṛāran*; but also RV. *asṛgran*, SV. *asṛgram*). On the other hand, as between 3 plural middle perfects in *re* and *rīre*, (Whitney, *Grammar* §550d) the more archaic forms in *re*, *duduhre* and *dadṛāre*, belong to RV., *duduhrīre* and *dadṛārīre* to later texts. Unexpectedly, archaizing *r*-endings replace the normal 3 sing. imperfect middle *adhatta* (RV. AV.) in *adhadtrāḥ* (SV.), *adadhrām* (KS.), and *athadrām* (TA., corrupt). Very anomalously the form *adṛāran* seems to be used as an active in several YV. texts, only TS. NīlarU. having the regular *adṛāan*. And the 3 plural present middle *duhate* varies with *duhrate*, not only once in the RV. itself, but also once between RV. and AV., the AV. showing the more archaizing *duhrate*: *ghṛtaḥ duhrata* (and, *duhata*) *ākiram* RV. (both). See *RVRep.* 137, 562, and next.

te dakṣiṇāḥ duhate. (AV. *te duhrate dakṣiṇāḥ*) *saptamātaram* RV. AV.
See prec.
asṛgran (SV. *ram*) *devavītaye* RV. SV.

adṛśram (AV.* ArŚ. MS. KS. MŚ. °rann) *asya ketavaḥ* RV. AV. (both) ArŚ. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. KŚ.

trir asmaī sapta dhenavā duduhre (SV. Svidh. °hrire) RV. SV. Svidh. Here the SV. smooths out, secondarily no doubt, the meter in an otherwise jagatī stanza; cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 287.

śrūgāṅteec chrūginām sam dadṛṣre (TB. ApŚ. °ṛire) RV. KB. TB. ApŚ. Here the stanza is triṣṭubh.

śerate (AB. šere) 'sya sarve pāpmānaḥ AB. ŚŚ. On these forms see Whitney, *Grammar* §§550d, 629. The AB., in an anuṣṭubh stanza, has better meter; Hillebrandt suggests deletion of 'sya in ŚŚ.

apa snehitīr (SV. snihitīm) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. adhadrāḥ, KS. adadhrām) RV. AV. SV. KS.; *upa stuhi* (Poona ed. snuhi) *tam nṛmnām athadrām* TA. In RV., 'the hero-minded (god) has driven away the enemies.' The r-forms of even SV. and KS. are highly problematic; as to TA., the only certain thing about it is that it is badly corrupted, and this applies to more than the one word *athadrām* (the comm. has a v. l. *athodrām*; its gloss is *adhodravanāṣṭam!*). *utainam gopā adṛśran* (TS. adṛśan) VS. TS. MS. KS.: *uta tvā gopā adṛśan* NīlarU. The anomalous *adṛśran* is obviously felt as 3 plural with active meaning; Mahidhara, *paśyanti*. It might, perhaps, be included under variations between active and middle without change of meaning, §38ff. This variant is followed in VS. TS. by: *adṛśran* (TS.† adṛśann) *udahāryaḥ* VS. TS.

2. Subjunctive endings in *si* and *s*, *ti* and *t*, *te* and *tai*, *vahe* and *vahai*, *mahe* and *mahai*

§253. These optional endings of the subjunctive interchange, in general without chronological indications; but metrical criteria are sometimes involved, since the shorter endings *s* and *t* help to produce shorter lines. As to the *e* and *ai* endings the phonetic relations between these two sounds must be considered, as set forth in §26; and furthermore some of the *e*-forms may be considered indicatives, cf. §§118, 124: *yathā naḥ subhagāsasi* (AV. *sumanā asah*) RV. AV. TA. *yathā naḥ suphalāsasi* (AV. *suphalā bhuvah*) RV. AV. TA. *subhazajam yathāsati* (AV. °si; LŚ. °sat) AV. TS. MS. KS. LŚ. (the last secondary and metrically poor).

viprā gātham gāyata yaj jujoṣati (AA. °sat) AA. ŚŚ.: *viprāya gātham gāyata yam jujoṣate* SV.

sa no nedīṣṭham havanāny āgamat (and once, *havanāni joṣat*) KS. (ter): *sa no nedīṣṭhā havanāni joṣate* (MS. *havanā jujoṣa*) TS. MS.: *sa no viśvāni havanāni joṣat* VS. ŚB.

teṣāṁ yo ajyānim ('jyānim) ajñīm āvahāt TS. SMB.† (in Jørgensen as TS.) PG. BDh.: *teṣāṁ ajyānim* (MŚ. °*nam*) *yatamo na āvahāt* (AV. *yatamo vahāti*) AV. KS. MŚ.

anu nau śūra mahāste (TS. °*tai*) RV. TS. KSA.

yā na ārū uśaśi viśrayāte (AV. °*tī*; ApMB. HG. *viśrayātai*) RV. AV. ApMB. HG.

pari gajāte (AV. °*tai*) *lūbjeva vṛkṣam* RV. AV. N.

pra yah satrādā (TB. *sa vādā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB. °*tai*) RV. TB.

(*net tvā. . .*) *dadhad vidhakṣyan paryāṅkhaṃyātai* TA.: (*net tvā. . .*) *dadhr̥g vidhakṣyan paryāṅkhaṃyāte* (AV. *vidhakṣan parīṅkhaṃyātai*) RV. AV. See §§234c, 27.

yam jīvam akṣavāmahai (MS. °*he*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

yayā gā ākarāmahe (SV. °*hai*) RV. SV.

(*kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūruḥ*) *sacārahe* (MS. °*hai*) *yad avṛkam purā cit* RV. MŚ. But in §124 we have treated *sacārahe* as indicative.

3. Imperatives in *tāt* exchanging with other imperatives

§254. On this interchange see §150. It begins in the RV. itself, in the first of the following list, where there is reason to regard the form in *tāt* as the older, see §100:

pra no yachatād avṛkam pṛthu chardīh RV. 1. 48. 15: *prāsmāi yachatam avṛkam pṛthu chardīh* RV. 8. 9. 1

viśūcinān (VSK. °*nā*) *vyasyatām* (VSK. °*tāt*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *ūrdhedm enām* (or, *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (VS.* ŚB.* MŚ. *chrāpaya*) VS. (both) TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. (both) TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. ApŚ.

nir anhasah pipṛtā (TB. °*tān*) *nir avadyāt* RV. VS. MS. TB. Is TB. (both editions, text and comm.) reliable? Comm. *pipṛtāt pālayata*. *punar māviśatād* (MŚ. °*tām*) *royīh* VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

sā (HG. *sa*) *mām āviśatād iha* (MG. *āviśatām ihaiva*) ApMB. HG. MG.: *sā medhā viśatād u mām* RVKh. 10. 151. 3d (correct reference in Conc.) For RVKh. Seheftelowitz reads exactly as ApMB.

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmrvījyam gucha* (VSK. *gachatāt*, MŚ. *gachet*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ.

etam jānātha (TB. *jānātāt*, KS. *jānāta*) *parama vyoman* VS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *jānāta smainam* (TS. MŚ. *jānātād enam*) *parama vyoman* AV. TS. MŚ. See §104, s.

iṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavāthāvir (VSK. ŚB. *kṛṇavāthāvir*; TS. TB. MŚ. *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmāi* (MŚ. *asmāt*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.: *iṣṭāpūrtam* (AV. °*taṁ sma*) *kṛṇutād āvir* (AV. *kṛṇutāvir*) *asmāi* AV. KS. The patchword *sma* in AV. suggests that its reading is likely to be secondary.

jaitrāyā (ApMB. HG. °*tryāyā*) *viśatād u mām* (ApMB. °*lān mām*; HG. °*lām mām*) RVKh. VS. ApMB. HG.

4. Presence or absence of imperative 2 sing, ending *dhi* (*hi*), and interchange between *dhi* and *hi*

§255. As a matter of grammatical genesis the forms with *dhi* or *hi* should be anterior to those without ending, and *dhi* anterior to *hi*; and the first and fourth examples agree with this. But in the third, *kr̥nuhi* of Vait. is hyper-archaic as regards the stem *kr̥nu-* §186. And in the second, *tanuhi* of LŚ is for similar reasons unusable for chronological deductions. On this whole matter see most recently Bloch, *MSL* 23. 176; he regards *hi* (rather than *dhi*) as the regular ending with polysyllabic bases, and explains *śr̥nudhi* (as in our fourth example) as due to the analogy of *śrudhi* from a monosyllabic base.

abhy enam bhūma ūr̥nuhi (TA. *bhūmi v̥ru*) RV. AV. TA.

aśv (aśā) anu mā tanu (LŚ. *tanuhi* [printed in text as *tanu hi*] *jyotiṣā*) MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

ojasvantam mām āyusmantam varcasvantam (MS. *mām sahasvantam*) *manuṣyeṣu kuru* (Vait. *āyusmantam manuṣyeṣu kr̥nuhi*) TS. MS. AŚ. Vait.

nṛ̥nāḥ (MS. *nṛ̥nāḥ*) *pāhi śr̥nudhi* (SV. °*hi*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

5. Second plural endings with or without *na*

§256. The endings *tana* and *thana* contain an extra syllable, as compared with *ta* and *tha*. The longer forms are suitable for even syllable cadences (◡-◡ ◡, iambic dipody), the shorter forms for the corresponding catalectic cadence (◡-◡). The RV. itself uses this correspondence to construct otherwise identical *jagati* and *triṣṭubh* pādas: *asmabhyam śarma bahulaṁ vi yantana* 5. 55. 9; and . . . *yanta* 6. 51. 5; *adhi stotrasya sakhyasya gātana* 5. 35. 9, and . . . *gāta* 10. 78. 8.

See RVRep. 536, 563, where these appear among similar metrical and grammatical devices for procuring practically identical or very similar pairs of *jagati* and *triṣṭubh* lines. At times the use of the shorter form is accompanied by the introduction of a patch-word as metrical compensation, or the longer form replaces such a patch-word, as in: *tigmāyudhāya bharaṭā śr̥notu naḥ* (TB. *śr̥notana*) RV. TB. N.

These differences may suggest critical conclusions, as in: *paretana* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *pareta*) *pitarah somyāśah* (TS. ApŚ. *somyāḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ., which doubtless read originally *paretana pitarah somyāśah*.

We group the passages as much as possible with such considerations in mind:

§257. Passages without patch-word, and otherwise essentially identical:

tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana RV. 10. 37. 11d: *athā naś śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. °tana) RV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *adhā naś śam yor arapo dadhāta* AV.: *athāsmabhyam śam yor arapo dadhāta* TS. In MS. the p.p. reads *dadhāta*; the longer form disturbs the meter of the (*triṣṭubh*) stanza. Yet, most interestingly, one AV. ms. also has *dadhātana*. This reading is obviously due to the influence of RV. 10. 37. 11d, which occurs in a *jagatī* stanza, and where °tana is therefore in order.

paretana (*pareta*) etc., see above; the two RV. repetitions quoted above are likewise not repeated here.

athā rayim sarvasīram dadhātana RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *rayim ca naś sarvasīram dadhāta* AV. 18. 3. 14d, 44d. All texts except AV. 18. 3. 14 have the pāda in an entirely *jagatī* stanza, where *dadhātana* is therefore appropriate; and so the AV. comm. reads on 18. 3. 44. AV. 18. 3. 14 is *triṣṭubh*, and so has properly *dadhāta*.

amī ye vīratā (MS. °tāh, KS. °tās) *sthana* (MS. *stha*) AV. MS. KS. The form *stha* is metrically poor.

sarāś patatrinīś sthana (KS. *stha*) TS. MS. KS.: *sirāś patatrinīś sthana* RV. VS. Again the short form is inferior, and clearly secondary.

svāveśā nā āgata MS.: *anānīvā upetana* AV.

ye ke ca bhrātaraś sthana (ŚŚ. *sthāh?*) AB. ŚŚ. The form of ŚŚ. 15. 26c is difficult. Tho it is written *sthā* and followed by a vowel, Hillebrandt (Index) understands it (doubtfully) as = *stha* + *ā* (rather than *sthāh* as given by Conc.). It is in any case secondary.

§258. Passages in which the short form is filled out with a patch-word:

srucā juhūta no (ŚŚ. *juhutana*) *harīh* TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

ramadhvaś mā bibhīta mat (Kauś. *bibhītana*) AV. Kauś.

grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepi dhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ.

ŚG. HG. Cf. *grhā māsmad bibhītana* AV. HG.

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu naś (TB. *śṛnotana*) RV. TB. N. See §365.

Here, of course, the shorter form, in *-tu*, not *-ta*, is not the equivalent of the longer one; the variant is quoted as showing a similar trend.

6. Endings in -a sometimes rhythmically lengthened to -ā

§259. These cases do not concern primarily the Verb Variants, but rather the Phonetic Variants; and we shall reserve a full treatment of them for that section of our work, contenting ourselves here with a very brief summary and a bare list of the instances. The forms in ā are not regarded by the texts themselves as variant endings, but merely as phonetic forms of the endings in short a, on a level with the alterations required by sandhi. This is evidenced by the facts that all the pada-pāṭhas regularly substitute the form in short a for ā; that the ā is not allowed to stand at the end of a pāda; and that in TS. it is not allowed at the end of a *kanḍikā* (cf. Wackernagel I. §265a, note). For this last reason, in two variant pādas, where all other texts have final ā, the TS. has short a, for the sole reason that the word in question happens to come at the end of that purely mechanical division of its text:

virebhir āsvair maghavā bhavā (TS. *bhava*) *naḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

bhāspate pari diyā (TS. *diya*) *rathena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

There is among the variants one case where some texts have the ā at the end of a pāda, namely:

vanaspate 'va sṛjā (KS. *sṛja*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

Here KS. alone has the short a which is required at the end of a pāda. The case is however peculiar, and it is by no means certain that AV. means to end the pāda here. Indeed, all the mss., both editions, and the Anukramaṇī add to this pāda the next following word, *varāṇaḥ*; after which the text proceeds, *tmānā devēbhyo agnir haviṣā samitā sūdayatu*. Whatever may have been the real intent of AV., there is no doubt that the YV. texts end the pāda with *sṛjā*. However, the whole stanza is a bungling reminiscence of RV. 3. 4. 10ab, *vanaspate 'va sṛjopa deatā, agnir haviḥ samitā sūdayāti* (in the last pāda the YV. texts agree with RV.). And there is obviously a connection between the ā of *sṛjā* and the fact that in the oldest form (in RV.) the word did not end the pāda; as indeed it does not, according to the unanimous tradition; in AV.

§260. The lengthening of the final a is rhythmic, not metrical. See Wackernagel I. §266a. The poets, to be sure, make free use of the license to lengthen the final a in syllables where the meter requires ā long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements, but of sentence rhythm. It occurred, originally, in places where the next word began with a single consonant, so that the syllable would be otherwise short (be it remembered that it never occurred before a pause!), and regularly where the following syllable was short; perhaps in the beginning when the preceding syllable was also short. That is, it was due to

avoidance of a succession of short syllables unrelieved by a long. In the variants clear traces of this fact will appear; we shall show, in our section on Phonetics, that the following word almost invariably begins with a single consonant, and that the following syllable is usually short. The preceding syllable, however, is short only about half the time, among the cases occurring in the variants. That it is not a matter of metrical requirements is shown by the fact that the lengthening occurs most often (among the variants) in syllables where metrical length is not required; it is much commoner in the first part of the *pāda* than in the cadence.

§261. All these matters will be duly set forth, along with other precisely similar cases of rhythmically lengthened final *a* in other than verb forms, in our section on Phonetics. The variant *pādas* which show it in verbal endings are the following, in addition to the above. The reader may be reminded of the somewhat similar variations between long and short vowels in the interior of causative (§242) and denominative stems (§243) and in reduplicating syllables (§271); these are probably also rhythmic in character. F. E.]

lām ā prya (TB. *prya*) *vasupatē vāsūnām* RV. TB.

ā juhota (TB. ApS. °*tā*) *durasyata* RV. ŚB. TB. (ApS. ,Pratīka)

prāñco agāma (TA. *prāñjo* °*gāmā*) *nytaye hasiya* RV. AV. TA.

apo devir upa srja (MS. *srja*) *mādhumatih* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agne purisyādhipā bhava (TS. *bhavi*) *trān nah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

aditsan vā (MS. *dhipsyam vā*; TB. *yad vādāsyam*) *samjāgara* (TB. °*ja-*
gārā; MS. °*cakara*) *janebhyah* MS. TB. TA.

apta yonir (KS. *yonir*) *ā pryasva* (TS. KS. TB. °*svā*) *ghrtena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

varivasya mahāmaha (SV. °*syā mahāntva*) RV. SV.

indra somam imam piba RV. ŚŚ.: *indra somam pibā imam* RV. AV. SV.

MS. The p.p. of both RV. and MS. *piba*, not *pibāh*; see Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 8. 17. 1.

vayam rāgre jāgryāma (MS. KS. °*mā*; TS. and MS. p.p. *jāgryāma*)
purohitāh VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

vidma te svapna janitram AV.: *vidma* (text °*mā*; read °*mā?*) *te svapna*
(prattika) Kauś.

vidmā te nāmu (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV. AV. VS.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

hiva (Vait. °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāni*) *haricah* TS. Vait. KŚ. ApS. MS.

gharman pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °*tā*; MS. °*trā*) *vāt* (MS. *va*, TA *va*)
VS. MS. ŚB. TA. It is not likely to be accidental that TA., the only text which has a short syllable following, lengthens the final *a*.

idaṁ me prāvata vacaḥ RV. VS. TS. KS. TB.: *oṣadhayaḥ prāvata vācam* me MS.: *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś.

juhota (AV. °tā) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV. VS. TA.

ut tiṣṭhata (AV. Kauś. °tā) *pra taratā sukhāyaḥ* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. Kauś.

pary ū ṣu pra dhanva (AV. °rā) *vājasātaye* RV. AV. SV. KS. AB. ŚB. *yasmād yoner udārithā* (KS. °tha) *yoje* (MS. KS. *yajā*) *tam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ud irayathā (MS. MS. °tā, AV. KS. °ta) *marutaḥ samudrataḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. and *pratika* MŚ.

dyumantam kuṣmam ā bhara (SV. *bhara*) *svareidam* RV. SV.

vahā (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS. *dadhiṣo*, but most mss. *di°*) *harīṣi* MS. KS. TB. N.

janiṣṭa (TS. *janiṣṭā*, MS. °ṣa) *hi janyo agre ahnām* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

ramayata (KS. °tā) *marutaḥ hyenam ayanam* (MŚ. *marutaḥ pretam rājinam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Three mss. of KS. also read *ramayata*.

pretā jāyatā naraḥ RV. AV. SV. VS.: *upa preta jāyatā naraḥ* TS.

yatrā naḥ cakrā (KS. Conc. *cakra*, with one ms., but ed. *cakrā*) *jarasam tanūnām* RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. ŚB. ApŚ. ApMB. HQ.

7. Miscellaneous interchanges of endings

§262. Here are grouped various sporadic cases of interchanges concerning endings.

(a) Preentives 3d singular in *yās* and *yāt*.

See Whitney, *Grammar* §838.

pari no heṭi rudrasya rjyāḥ (VSK. °yāt) RV. VSK.: *pari vo heṭi rudrasya rjyāḥ* (TB. *rjyāt*) RV. TB. See §104, u, and *RVRep.* 573.

indrāḥ te soma sutasya peyāḥ (SV. *peyāt*) RV. SV.

narāśaṁso gñāpatir no ayyāt (RV. *avyāḥ*) RV. MS. TB.

dhiyo hīnāno dhiya in no ayyāt (TA. *avyāt*) RV. TA.: *dhiya ināno dhiya in no ayyāt* MS.

(b) *s*-aorist 3d singular in older and later forms.

The older non-thematic type of conjugation of *s*-aorists calls for a 3d singular active ending *s*, for *st*; and after a consonant even the *s* is lost (Whitney, *Grammar* §888). This form exchanges twice with 3d singulars of the later type in *sāt*. With these may be compared the forms which we have classified §202 as root-aorists from roots in *ā* (*ahāt*, *apāt*) which vary with *s*-aorists from the same roots (*ahās*, *apās*, 3d sing.); the *t*-forms may also be considered as belonging in this category.

agnis te tanuam mātī dhāk TS. TB. ApŚ.: *agnis te tejo mā prati dhākṣi* JB.

yan me 'dya retah pṛthirām askānti (TA, *askān*) ŚB. TA. BrhU.

(c) Confusion of 1st plural *mas* and *ma*.

Aside from cases which may be considered different tenses, we find the following small group, on which cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§548a, 636d, 795a. They have of course a phonetic aspect; the final *visarga* was lightly pronounced, see §25 above. It is noteworthy that all occur at the end of *pādas*, or practically so (followed by a particle of interjection only).

tasmān vāyam upahūṣṣa tava smah (MŚ. *sma*) TB. MŚ.

abhiratāḥ smah (YDh. *sma ha*) VIdh. YDh. BrhPDh.

viratāḥ smah (ŚG. *sma bhoh*) ŚG. PG.

prati bhāgaṁ na ādihma (SV. *maḥ*) RV. AV. SV. VS. N. Whitney,

Roots, s. v. *dhī*, regards both forms as 1 plur. perfect.

itānam teḍ śūrumo (KS. *ma*) *vāyam* KS. ApŚ.

anyauratasya (TA. *anyad era*) *sācīma* (RV. *sācīre*, TA. *sācīmah*) RV.

VS. MS. ŚB. TA. 1st plural perfect of *sac*. But in TA. *sācīma* should be read, with Poona ed. text and comm. (v. l. one *ma*. *maḥ*).

(d) 1st singular preterites active in *am*, exchanging with *m*.

In a case or two the preterite 1st singular active ending *am* is replaced by *m*, preceded by another vowel (that of the 2d and 3d persons), by analogy with the 2d and 3d persons. Thus, we have in the RV. itself this repeated *pāda*:

vadhīd vṛtram vajreṇa mandasānah 4. 17. 3; *vadhīm* etc., 10. 28. 7, where *vadhīm* is certainly made in direct imitation of *vadhīd*; see *RVRep.* 220, 564. Cf. also:

ivegaṁ vaco apīradhīt (TS. TB. *dhīm*, MS. *dhīh*) *radhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. As (a) *vadhīm* is a blend of *avadham* and *avadhīt*, so *agrabhīm* in the following is a blend of *agrabham* and *agrabhīt*, and *abhām* of *abhāvam* and *abhāt*:

īzam ārjam sam agrabham (TS. *bhām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

abhyakṣi rājābhām (MS. v. l. *bhūt*; ApŚ. *bhāvam*) MS. ApŚ.: *abhisikṣa rājābhāvam* (v. l. *bhāvam*) MŚ. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §830a.

The MŚ passage is quoted on Knauer's authority from unedited mss.

(e) Subjunctive sign *ā* interchanging with *a* in non-thematic forms.

The forms with short *a* are, of course, morphologically at least, the primary ones; see Whitney, *Grammar* §§560e, 701.

yathā jyok sumand asat (ApMB. *asāh*) ApMB. HG.

yathāso mitravardhanaḥ AV. KS.: *yathāsā rāṣṭravardhanaḥ* TB. (no need to read *yathāso* as suggested in Conc.)

yat sanaratha (MS. KS. °*rātha*) *pūruṣam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

iṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavāthāvir (VSK. ŚB. °*rathāvir*; TS. TB. MŚ. *kṛṇuṣṭāḍ āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ. *asmāi*) VS. VSK. TS. TB. ŚB. MŚ.

pūnas te prāṇa āyati (so TS.†: TA. *āyāti*; AŚ. *āyātu*) TS. TA. AŚ.

(f) Sporadic and doubtful interchanges of *babhūtha* and *babhūva* *tvam hi hotā prathamō babhūtha* (MŚ. SMB. MG. *babhūva*; and so 2 mss. of Kauś.) TS. KS. MŚ. Kauś. SMB. MG. Comm. at SMB. *babhūva*, *babhūtha*.

patyur janītvam abhī sañ babhūtha (TA. °*va*) RV. AV. TA. 'Thou hast entered into the relation of wife to husband.' The comm. on TA., which reads *babhūra* in both edd., glosses *samyak prāpnuhī*. These two cases suggest interesting reflections on commentators' psychology, but they are not really as bad as they look; *babhūva* is probably due to a blend construction, with thought of *bhavān* or *bhavati* understood. Such constructions are not unknown in the later language. See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 43. 297, and below, §332.—A third interchange between *babhūtha* and *babhūva* is rectified in the Poona ed. of TB., see §342.

(g) The endings *masi* and *mas*.

A single time, in late texts, these interchange, the form in *masi* being apparently the original, or certainly metrically superior:

yatra vyañ vadāmasi (HG. °*maḥ*) ApMB. HG.

(h) 3d plural *ūḥ* for *uḥ*:

upo ha yad vidatham vājino guḥ (TB. *gūḥ*) RV. MS. TB. 3d plural root-aor. of *gā*; TB. (both edd.) anomalous; comm. *gachanto variante*.

(i) *ire* for *īre* in 3d plur. perfect middle (passive).

tāḥ prācyā (Vait. °*yah*; MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ.† °*hīre*; Vait. *sam-jigāīre*, all mss.) KŚ. Vait. MŚ.: *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ.

(k) Precative 2d plural with primary *tha* for secondary *ta*.

ye 'tra pitarah... bhūyāsta AV. ŚŚ.: *ya etasmiñ loke... bhūyāsta* TS. TB. The form in *tha* is of course wholly anomalous, but appears to be read by all mss. of both AV. and ŚŚ.; see Whitney on AV. 18. 4. 86, and §17.

CHAPTER VIII. MATTERS PERTAINING TO AUGMENT AND REDUPLICATION

§263. This chapter is concerned with two topics: presence or absence of augment in preterite forms, and various changes in the form of reduplication.

PRETERITES WITH AND WITHOUT AUGMENT

§264. Augmentless forms are ambiguous, being either preterites or injunctives; the functional relation of augmentless forms to corresponding augmented forms is therefore indeterminate. This uncertainty is increased by the frequent correspondence otherwise between preterites and all sorts of definite modal forms which we have met as one of the established features of the variants. Just as those correspondences take place both in principal clauses (§§130 ff.) and in dependent clauses (§145), so the interchanges between augmented and augmentless preterites may be conveniently divided into the same two groups. The following list rests on the assumption that both are preterites. But in the circumstances of Vedic diction there is nothing to prevent one or another of them from harboring interchange between preterite and modal (injunctive) force. Thus,

bhargo me 'vocaḥ: bhargum me vocaḥ, might be respectively, 'thou hast bespoken for me luster', and, 'hespeak for me luster'. Such a case would then have to be transferred to the rubric Aorist and Injunctive, §132. And, conversely, various of the forms which we have tentatively grouped under Preterites and Injunctives might perhaps equally well be placed here. See also §146 for a few cases of augmented and augmentless prohibitives.

§265. When the word preceding the variant verb-form ends in *e* or *a*, we must further remember that the following augment *a* is usually (and especially in late texts) represented, if at all, only by the *avagraha* in our manuscript tradition; and the presence or absence of this *avagraha* in our edited texts is often a matter of editing only, since the manuscripts are apt to be very undependable. Thus, in the above-mentioned example *bhargo me 'vocaḥ*, the Conc. records MŚ. 5. 2. 15. 2 as *'vocaḥ*, and Knauer's text reads so; but his note tells us that his mss. omit the *avagraha*, both here and generally. In such cases, therefore, little im-

portance is to be attached to this seeming variation. Hence we have separated in the following list the cases in which the verb is preceded by *e* or *o* from the rest.

Preterites with or without augment in principal clauses

- §266. a. Preceded by a word ending in *e* or *o*.
indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG. *śramo dadāt*) MS. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. Cf.
 §193. Oldenberg regards *dadāt* as modal, which is of course possible.
tad agnir agnaye 'dadāt (KS. MŚ. *dadāt*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Again *dadāt*
 may be modal.
somo dadad (SMB. GG. PG. 'dadad, HG. 'dadād) *gandhareṣya, gan-*
dharvo dadad (SMB. 'dadad) *agnaye* (HG. *gandharvo 'gnaye 'dadāt*)
 RV. AV. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. See the preceding
 two items.
bhargo me 'vocāḥ (PB. text *vocāḥ*, comm. *avocāḥ* = *uktavān asi*; on MŚ.
 see above) PB. ApŚ. MŚ. AG.: *bhargam me vocāḥ* ŚŚ. Also with
bhadrāḥ, bhūtīm, yaso, etc.
ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (KS. TS. TB. 'yāḥ) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.
 TB.: *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS. KS. Here both forms
 seem to be preterites, 'I have (thou hast) sacrificed away'; no modal
 force is likely.
(agnīś ca viṣṇo tapa uttamam maho) dikṣāpālābhyo 'vanatam (AŚ. *dikṣā-*
pālāya vanatam) *hi śakrā* TB. AŚ. So the Bibl. Ind. ed. of TB. reads,
 in text and comm.; but the comm. treats (a)*vanatam* as modal; and
 the Poona ed., text and comm., reads *vanatam*. Probably no real
 variant.
[satyam ṛte (and, ṛtam satye) dhāyi (ApŚ. 'dhāyi; TS. KSA. 'dhām) TS.
 KSA. TB. ApŚ. But Poona ed. of TB. reads 'dhāyi. See §85.
 Both forms preterites, but probably no augmentless form involved.]
 §267. b. Not preceded by *e* or *o*.
ā gharṃ agnim ṛtayann asādi (TA. **dit*) RV. TA.: *ā gharṃ agnir amṛto*
na sādi MS.
uktham avācindrāya ŚŚ.: *uktham vācindrāya* TS. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait.
 ApŚ. MŚ.: *ukthyaṃ vācindrāya śṛṇvate tvā* AŚ.
pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB. 'bhaṣam; PG. *nāma jagrabham*) PG.
 ApMB. HG.: *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh. Stenzler renders
 PG. 1. 13. 1 'möge ich den Namen eines Vaters erlangen.' But
 three preterites besides *jagrabham* make the construction of the
 latter (pluperfect; cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §818a) as preterite more
 likely. See §§206, 219f.

turīyeṇāmanvata (ŚŚ. *turīyeṇa manvata*) *nāma dhenoh* AV. ŚŚ.
utem anamnamuḥ (KB. ŚB. KŚ. ŚŚ. *uteva namnamuḥ*) TS. MS. AB. KB.
 ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

ayaṁ punāna uṣaso vi rocayat (SV. *uṣaso arocayat*) RV. SV. The RV. form is clearly preterite; cf. the parallel *abhavat* in the next pāda.
pary abhūd (RV. *uṣarbhud bhūd*) *atithir jātavedāḥ* RV. MS.

indrāya suṣuvur (MS. KS. *indrāyāsuṣutur*) *madam* VS. MS. KS. TB.
 Cf. §220. The form *asuṣuvuḥ*, strictly speaking pluperfect, is really nothing more than an augmented perfect, doubtless secondary to *suṣuvuḥ*; MS. p.p. *indrāya suṣuvuḥ*.—Yet more anomalous is the next:

toyena jivān vi sasarja (TA. *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA. Mahān U. The TA. has a monstrosity; see §220.

grhān ajūgupataṁ yuṣam AŚ.; *grhān* (MŚ. *grhāṇ*) *jugupataṁ yuṣam* MS. MŚ. Both versions are indicative, being contrasted with *grhān gopāyataṁ yuṣam*, see Conc.

§268. Preterites with or without augment in dependent clauses.

iyam eva sã yã prathamã vyauchat (ŚG. *vyuchat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.

ardheḥ yasyāmatir bhā adidyutat (VSK. *atidyutat*) *śivimani* AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The variation is really phonetic (*t*: *d*, surd: sonant).

(*yam* . . .) *svādhyo* (TB. *svādhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB. *apsu ajījanan*) RV. TB.

anūdā yadī jījanad (SV. *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*) RV. SV.

yad enaṁ dyāur ajanayat (RV. *janayat*) *suretāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. Clearly the RV. form is archaic; see Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 306, 313.

yenāpāmṣatām (SMB. v. 1. *ṣatām*) *surām* ŚŚ. SMB.; *yenāvāmṣatām* *surām* PG. In a series of preterite formulas. PG. comm. explains the lack of augment as Vedic license.

yame iva yatamāne yad aitam (TA. *etam*; but Poona ed. *aitam*) RV. AV. AB. KB. TA. AŚ. 'When like two twins in step ye went.' Probably no real variant.

INTERCHANGES CONCERNING REDUPLICATION

§269. Many of these concern the quantity of the reduplicating vowel, and belong to the class of Rhythmic Changes in Quantity (cf. §§259–261);

they belong really to the section on Phonetics. Obscuration of the original principles of the rhythmic change has resulted in great irregularity, however.

§270. In a series of formulas *pīpihi* of MS. exchanges with *pīpihi* of TA. (and ApŚ.); we thus have forms presenting the aspect of a double or compensating rhythmic shift of quantity. [It seems to me likely that MS. understands *pīpihi* as 'drink!', root *pā*, while *pīpihi* certainly means 'swell!', root *pyā*. F. E.]

subhūtāya pīpihi (TA. *pīpihi*) MS. TA. And so with *brahmararcasāya*; *iṣe*; *ūrje*; *asyai viṣe* (TA. omits these) *mahyaṁ jyaiṣṭhyāya*; *asmai* (TA. omits) *brahmaṇe*, and *kṣatrāya*. ApŚ. also has *iṣe*, and *ūrje*, *pīpihi*. See §192.

§271. The next group certainly contains cases of rhythmic lengthening, sometimes with metrical bearings, but primarily phonetic in character:

udgrābheṣod ajigrabhat MS.: . . . *ajigrabham*, and *ajigrbham*, KS.

yiyapsyata (AŚ. *yī^o*) *iva te manah* (AŚ. *mukham*) AŚ. ŚŚ.

īmam agne camasaṁ mā vi jīhvaraḥ (TA. *ji^o*) RV. AV. TA. AG.

grhān ajūgupataṁ yuvam AŚ.: *grhān* (MŚ. *grhān*) *jugupataṁ yuvam* MS. MŚ.

prajān me (ApŚ. also, *no*) *naryājjugupaḥ* (ApŚ. and MŚ. v. 1. *°jūgupah*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Also:

paśūn me (*naḥ*) *śaṁṣyājjugupaḥ* (ApŚ. *°jūgupah*) MS. ApŚ. MŚ. And similar formulas in the same passage.

śucanto agniṁ varṣdhanta (AV. *vā^o*) *īndram* RV. AV. KS. Whitney, Grammar §786a.

trīta enaṁ (read, *trīta enan*) *manuṣyeṣu mamrje* AV.: *trīta etan manuṣyeṣu māmṛje* TB. The AV. form is the more usual, but that of TB. is metrically better. See Whitney, l. c.

§272. There is, next, a small group showing confusion between the reduplicating vowels *i* (characteristic of the present) and *a* (perfect), which marks a certain blurring of the regular tense distinction between these types. Cf. the item in the Conc.: *hastagrābhasya didhiṣos* (AV. *dadhīṣos*) . . . RV. AV. TA.

pra bhānavah śisrate (SV. *sasrate*) *nākam acha* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS.

Here *sasrate* is anomalous; cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 281.

vṛṣṭva cakradad (and, *cakrado*) *vane* RV.: *vṛṣo acikradad vane* SV. The forms *cakradat* (*°das*) are counted perfect subjunctives; Whitney, Grammar §810.

tāḥ prācya (Vait. *°yah*; MŚ. *°cīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ.† *°īre*; Vait. *saṁjigāīre*)

KS. Vait. MS.: *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ. Perfect forms; *i* is anomalous.

§273. The rest are odds and ends which concern reduplication in various ways; they are mostly problematic. There are a couple of apparent perfect active participles with unreduplicated stems, one obviously due to haplology, the other perhaps corrupt:

viśo-viśaḥ pravivīśāṁsam īmahe AV.: *viśvasyām viśi pravivīśivāṁsam* (KS.† *pravivīśānam*) īmahe TS. MS. KS. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§790, 803a, and on AV. 4. 23. 1.

viśām vavarjuṣṭām (AV. *viśām avary*?) RV. AV. See Whitney on AV. 7. 50. 2.

Once the reduplicated *sasrjmahe* exchanges with *samsrjmahe*, the preposition *sam* replacing the reduplicating syllable *sa*:
agne sasrjmahe (MS. *samsr*?) *giraḥ* RV. SV. MS. KS.

The remaining cases are not only anomalous but textually dubious: *sam tvā tātakṣuḥ* (LŚ. *tatakṣuḥ*) Vait. LŚ. KŚ. See §231, end. We have little confidence in the edited text of LŚ.

(*devīr devāra indram samghāte*) *vidvīr yāmann avardhayan* (TB. *vidvīr yāman varardhayan*) VS. TB. See §218, end; read probably *avardhayan* in TB.

[*jajanad* (TB. *prajanad*; but Poona ed. correctly *jajanad*) *indram indriyāya svāhā* (MS. om.) MS. TB. TA. ŚŚ.]

CHAPTER IX. VARIATIONS IN GRADE OR QUANTITY OF STEMS AND ALLIED MATTERS

§274. The matters included in this chapter are more or less homogeneous in that they all deal with verbal stems or bases which present, in alternative readings, both quantitatively fuller and less full forms. We have found it convenient to subdivide them as follows, without very much regard for conventional grammatical categories, but so as to bring together forms which seem to us really to belong together:

1. Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak.
2. Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including *r*-stems).
3. Strong and weak Perfect forms.
4. Interchanges between strong and weak stems in *r* (*ra*, *ari*), and other variants of *r*.
5. Interchanges between radical short and long *i* before *y*.
6. Other long and short *i* and *u* in radical syllables.
7. Long and short 'intermediate *i*' (in *se* roots).
8. Presence or absence of intermediate *i*.
9. Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms.

1. *Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak*

§275. As compared with the almost complete rigidity of Classical Sanskrit in regard to the separation of strong and weak stems in non-thematic presents, the Vedic language shows remarkable fluidity on this point; see Bloomfield's article 'On certain irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives', *AJP* 5. 16ff. This is particularly the case in the 5th and 9th classes; and it usually manifests itself in encroachment of the strong stem on the weak. The variants, at least, show no case of the converse spread of the weak stem at the expense of the strong; whereas they repeatedly show the normal *kṛvā* or *punāhi* or the like replaced by *kṛvā* or *punāhi*. In one formula, *barhi śrāhi* or *śrāhi*, ApŚ. shows both forms. Of course the strong forms are to be regarded, at least morphologically, as secondary, and due to analogical spread from forms where the strong stem is regular. But it frequently happens that the chronology of the variants runs counter to this; that is, an older text

has the 'secondary' or analogical form, which is replaced by the regular form in a later text. Meter sometimes seems to have been concerned in the choice of the irregular form.

nu: no

kr̥ṇota (AV. *kr̥ṇuta*) *dhūman̄ vṛṣaṇam̄* (AV. *°ṇaḥ*) *sakhāyaḥ* RV. AV. *ur̥v̄ rodasī varīvas* (TS. KS. *°vaḥ*) *kr̥ṇotam̄* (KS. *kr̥ṇutam̄*) TS. MS. KS.

Here KS. is metrically inferior; we may guess that metrical considerations dictated the use of the analogical *kr̥ṇotam̄*.

sunuta ā ca dhāvataḥ RV.; *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV. Cf. *sunoty ā ca dhāvati* RV. The form *sunota* is well-known in RV, *yunakta śrā vī yugā tanudhvam̄* (AV. TS. MS. KS. *tanota*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

nī: nā, and analogous forms

jālavadaḥ punīhi (MS. *punāhi*) *mā* RV. VS. MS. KS.

paritreṇa punīhi (MS. *punāhi*) *mā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚŚ.

punīhīndrāya (SV. VS. *punāhi*?) *patave* RV. SV. VS. Vait.

asmān punīhi cakṣase AV.: *mām̄ punīhi* (MS. *punāhi*) *vīsvataḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS.

barhi (MS. MŚ. *barhiḥ*) *str̥ṇīhi* (TS. MS. [text *str̥ṇātī*] MŚ. ApŚ. [once] *str̥ṇāhi*) TS. MS. GB. ŚB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. (quater) MŚ.

sviṣṭam̄ agne abhi tat pr̥ṇāhi (PG. *pr̥ṇāhi*; KS. *tad gr̥ṇīhi*) KS. TB. ApŚ. PG. HG.

vivāśvadāte abhi no gr̥ṇīhi (TS. *gr̥ṇāhi*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

etaṁ jānātha (KS. *jānāta*, TB. *jānātā*) *parame vyoman* VS. KS. ŚB. TB.

In one case the root *hā*, whose present inflection is analogous to that of the 9th class (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* 661a), presents a similar variation:

atrā jahāma (AV. *jahita*) *ye asann̄ āśvāḥ* (AV. *āśvāḥ*, and *asan̄ duresvāḥ*) RV. AV. (bis) TA.: *atra* (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahāmo 'śivā ye asan* VS. ŚB.

2. Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including *r*-stems)

§276. Owing to the considerable mix-up between the various aorist systems, there is sporadic interchange between their stem-grades; a stem-grade appropriate to one formation is analogically transferred to another. In some cases there is doubt as to which aorist formation we are dealing with, and the variation in the form of the stem is itself often taken as evidence for the fact that different formations are concerned; it is, indeed, not infrequently the only such evidence available. See §§202 ff. for such examples. But the line between them and the class now under consideration is by no means always clear. Thus, in the first

example, it is customary to regard *bheh* and *bhaih* as respectively 1st and 4th aorists, and we have so treated them above; while *rok* and *ruk* are placed in this group as being both, apparently, root-aorists.

mā bher mā roñ (VSK. *mō roñ*; TS. *māro*) *mō ca nañ* (TS. *mō eñāñ*) *kiñ canāmamat* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *mā bhair mā ruñ mō ca* (KS. *rauñ mā*) *nañ kiñ canāmamat* MS. KS.

§277. Similarly in several cases of *s*-aorists active, the *vrddhi* vowel alternates with the *guṇa* (Whitney, *Grammar* §887a); sometimes one, sometimes the other form seems original:

abhyarakṣīd (AŚ. °*rākṣīd*) *āsmākaṁ punar āgamāt* (AŚ. *āyanāt*) MS. AŚ. *iṣam ūrjam anyā vakṣat* (TB. °*rākṣit*) VS. MS. KS. TB. (both) N. See §167.

pra sakṣati pratimānaṁ pṛthivyāḥ AV.: *pra sākṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV. AV. N.

ud akrāmīd draviṇodā vājy arā VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ud akrāmī* (prātika) ApŚ.

mā (VS. ŚB. add *vayam*) *rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yaugma* VS. MS. ŚB.: *māhañ rā° vi yoṣam* TS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

ihaiva stañ mā vi yaugtam (ApMB. *yoṣtam*) RV. AV. ApMB.

§278. In two cases the dissyllabic stems *grabhai* and *śarai* interchange with their reduced forms *grabhi* and *śari*; see Whitney, *Grammar* §904b; Bloomfield, *ZDMG* 48. 574ff.

pitur iṣa nāmāgrābhīṣam (ApMB. °*grabhaiṣam*; PG. *nāma jagrabham*) PG. ApMB. HG.: *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh.

indra eṇam (TB. ApŚ. *eṇam*) *parāśarīt* AV. TB. ApŚ.: cf. *indro vo 'dya parāśarīt* AV. But for this last SPP. with most mss. and Ppp. reads °*śarīt*, the regular form.

§279. In a similar manner the 1st singular middle forms of the *s* and *iṣ* aorists show variation between reduced vowel and *guṇa*, in four variants. These forms may also be considered precatives; see Whitney, *Grammar* §§567a, 568, 923.

sa yathā teaṁ rucyā roco 'sy evāhaṁ paśubhiḥ ca brāhmaṇavarcasena ca ruciṣṭiya (MS. *teaṁ rucyā rocaśa evam ahaṁ rucyā rociṣṭiya*) AV. MS. The MS. has the regular form; Whitney, *Grammar* §899b; cf. §907, where these forms are called precatives.

vāmī te saṁdṛśī vīśvaṁ reto dheṣṭiya (KS. *dhiṣ°*) MS. KS.: *vīśvasya te vīśvānato vṛṣṇīyāvataḥ lavāgne vāmī annu saṁdṛśī vīśvā retāñśi dhiṣṭiya* TS. The *i*-form is regular; Whitney, *Grammar* §879b, cf. §884.

somasyāhaṁ devayajjyā suretā (MŚ. *vīśvaṁ*) *reto dhiṣṭiya* (MŚ. *dheṣṭiya*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *somo retoḥās tasyāhaṁ devayajjyā suretoḥdā reto dhiṣṭiya* KS.

tad ahiya vācaḥ prathamam masīya (N. *maṁsiya*) RV. AŚ. ApŚ. N. The N. reading is not worthy of trust, tho formally regular enough; the meter is against it. See Roth's note, p. 28 of *Erläuterungen*. For aorists in radical *r* varying with *ra* or *ar*, see below, §281.

3. Strong and weak Perfect forms

§280. The root *sah* 'be strong', exhibits interchange between *a* and *ā* in the radical syllable twice in the perfect, as well as once in the aorist (see the item *pra sakṣati* or *sākṣate*, etc., under the preceding rubric). Long *ā* appears in other forms of this root, as is well known (*sāhati*, *sāhyāma*, *sāḍha*, *sādhvā*, *sādhṛ*, see Whitney's *Roots* s. v.); in some of these (the last three, at least) 'compensatory lengthening' has operated; possibly the other instances are analogical extensions from such forms. *bibheda valam* (AV. AŚ. *balam*, but SPP. *valam* for AV.) *bhṛgur na sasdhe* (AV. *sasahe*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

yat sāsahat (SV. *sāsāhā*; KS.† *sāsāhat*) *sadane kam cid atriṇam* RV. SV. KS.

Otherwise there are only sporadic interchanges:

krūram ānaṁśa (KS.† ApŚ. *ānāśa*) *marṭyaḥ* (KS.† *marṭaḥ*) AV. KS. ApŚ.

Both are in reality variant 'strong' forms of the tangled root *aś*, *aśā*, *naś*.

nirjaganvān (TS. °*jaḡmivān*) *tamaso jyotiṣāgāt* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Alternative perfect participles; Whitney §805a.

vām edgne tanvam (TA. *tanuvam*) *piprayasva* (AV. *piprā°*) RV. AV. TA.

MahānU. Both forms are anomalous; they are classed as perfect imperatives. Whitney on AV. 6. 110. 1 would read *piprayasva*, but we do not see that this is a particularly better form than the other.

ad id antā adadṛhanta pūrve KS.: *yaded antā adadṛhanta* (TS. *adadṛhanta*) *pūrve* RV. VS. TS. MS. Pluperfects.

4. Interchanges between strong and weak stems in *r* (*ra*, *ari*), and other variants of *r*

§281. Here we group a few cases, mostly aorists (and therefore belonging also with No. 2, §§276 ff. above), in which we suspect that the variation between strong and weak *r*-forms is more due to phonetic change or corruption. The three cases of *grbh*: *grabh* are part of a tendency to reduce *r* + vowel to *r*; they will be treated along with similar cases outside the verbal conjugation in the chapter on *Samprasāraṇa* in our section on Phonetics. The solitary case of *jāgrtāya* for the more

normal *jāgaritāya* is best accounted for as due to the same tendency. In the sixth example, *bhartam*: *bhṛtam*, we have root-aorist forms, analogous to *ruk*: *rok* above (§276). Somewhat similar to the variation between *r* and *ra*, *arī*, is that between *r* and *ri* in two variants presently to be quoted, viz. *vayam rāṣṭre jāgryāma (jāgriyāma)* etc., and *āpaprivān (āpaprvān)* etc., §287.

agrbbhū VSK.: *agrabbhū* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agrbbhīṣata VS.: *agrabbhīṣata* KS.

udgrābheṇod agrabbhū (MS. *ajigrabhat*; KS. *ajigrabham*, and *ajigrbham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

jāgaritāya (KSA. *jāgrtāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

śrītas team śrīto 'ham ApŚ.: *śrītas tvaṁ śrīto 'ham* KS. Apparently pples. from monosyllabic and dissyllabic forms of the same base.

bhartam (VS. ŚB. *bhṛtam*) *agnim puriṣyam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Whitney, *Grammar* §831a.

5. Interchanges between radical short and long *i* before *y*

§282. Before suffixal *y*, final radical *i* appears alternatively as *ī* in a couple of variants:

śarvān patho anṛṇā ā kṣīyema (AV. *kṣī*°) AV. TB. TA. ApŚ. The *ī* is bad metrically as well as formally.

yūpāyocchriyamāṇāyānubrahī (MŚ. °*cchriya*°) ApŚ. MŚ. But most mss. of MŚ. read °*chriya*°, and as this is (before the *ya* of the passive) the grammatically regular form, it should probably be read.

§283. Somewhat similar to these variants, which are really phonetic in character and will be dealt with in our Phonetics section, are the two variants showing *i* or *ī* in denominative stems (§243; *janiyanti* and *janiyanto*, ..., *putriyanti* and *putriyantaḥ*...); and likewise, from another standpoint, the variant *vayam rāṣṭre jāgryāma (jāgriyāma)* etc., §287, where influence of the following *y* may be suspected in the form with *ri* for *rī*.

6. Other long and short *i* and *u* in radical syllables

§284. A miscellaneous list, as follows:

avāmba (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *ava*) *rudram adimahi* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *adi*°, and so v. l. of MS. KS. MŚ., with MS. p. p.) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Aorist from *dā* 'share'. The meter favors *i*.

prati śma (SV. *śma*) *deva riṣataḥ* (SV. *riṣ*°, and so RV. p. p.) RV. SV. MS. KS. TB.

vājino vājajilo vājam saśvāṇso (KS. *jigivāṇso*; TS. *saśvāṇso vājam jigivāṇso*)... VS. TS. KS. ŚB. Roots *ji* and *jyā, ji?* Cf. next.
ajitāḥ (TA. *aṣṭāḥ*; ApMB. and one ms. of HG. *aṣṭā*) *syāma śaradaḥ śatam* TA. ApMB. HG. Cf. prec. TA. comm. paraphrases by *ajitāḥ*.
samiṅgayati (ŚB. *samiṅg°*) *sarvataḥ* RV. ŚB. BṛhU. The true reading of BṛhU. is that of ŚB.; *°iṅg°* is Boehtlingk's emendation.
pratāstah pra suhi (KS. *sāhi*; MŚ. *suva*; ApŚ. *suva pra suhi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *suhi* looks like a blend of *sāhi* and *suva*.
mā hīṁsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB. *ūh°*) AV. ApMB.

7. Long and short 'intermediate i'

§285. There are a few cases of unstable quantity in the *i* which may be called, broadly speaking, the Sanskrit representative of the schwa-vowel in the second syllable of dissyllabic (*see*) roots; we include here *i* and *ī* before the *s* of the aorist, since that originally belonged in this category. Among the latter, it is noteworthy that we find both instances of 3d singular forms with short *i* where it should be long, and plural or dual forms with long *ī* where it should be short. The cases are very few in number, and probably analogical in both instances.

śuśamī śamiṣva (TS. TB. *śamiṣva*; KS.† *śamniṣva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

sa idam devebhyo haviḥ (havyam) śamīṣva (TS. TB. omit) *śuśamī śamiṣva* (TS. TB. *śamiṣva*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB.: *devēbhyo havyam śamiṣva* MS.

amāmadanta pīlato yathābhāgam (Kauś. *°gaṁ yathālokaṁ*) *āvṛṣāyīṣata* (AŚ. *āvṛṣāyīṣata*; ŚŚ. *āvīṣata*) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. See §§201, 243.

tato no mītrāvaruṇāv aviṣtam TB.: *tena no mītrāvaruṇāv* (MS. *°yā*) *aviṣtam* RV. MS. *aviṣtam* doubtless analogous to *avīt*.

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (TS. *°yid*, KSA. *°yed*, MS. *dhvanayīd*) *dhūmagandhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. See §174; Whitney, *Grammar* §1048; and cf. *īndro vājam ajayit*, TS. 1. 7. 8. 1, TB.

8. Presence or absence of 'intermediate i'

§286. The principal group under this head consists of aorist forms in *-rṣ-* or *-riṣ-*, from roots in *r*. Only the first two variants concern a root (*car*) which regularly forms both *s* and *iṣ* aorists; on these see §206. Otherwise the variants are apparently rather phonetic than morphological in character; they concern *svarabhakti*, on which cf. Wackernagel

1. §§49-53; they will be dealt with in our chapter on Insertion and Expulsion of Vowels, in the section of this work on Phonetics. They are of two sorts. Some concern roots which form aorists of the simple *s* type (Whitney's 4th aorist), in which an *i* is alternately inserted before the *s*. The others concern roots of the *iṣ* type (Whitney's 5th aorist), from which the *i* is sometimes dropped by a kind of 'hyper-Sanskritism'; the pronunciation *-riṣ-* seems to have been sometimes felt as dialectic and vulgar, and is occasionally 'restored' to *-rṣ-* by late texts in forms where *-riṣ-* is the only historically correct form, as in the Kauś. reading *tārṣat* for *tāriṣat*, below. There are thus three divisions of these variations between *-rṣ-* and *-riṣ-*:

(a) From roots which form aorists in both *s* and *iṣ*:

agne vr̥tatopate vr̥tatam acāriṣam (MS. and MŚ. v. l. *acārṣam*) VS. TS. MS.

KS.† ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. HG.

vr̥tātānām vr̥tatopate (Kauś. °*patayo*) *vr̥tatam acāriṣam* (MS. *acārṣam*) MS. TA. Kauś.

(b) From roots regularly forming only *s* aorist:

dakṣam te bhadram ābhārṣam RV.; *dakṣam ta ugram ābhāriṣam* AV.

Most mss. of AV. agree on *ābhāriṣam*, tho the comm. reads *ābhārṣam*, which the meter supports. No *iṣ* aorist of *bhṛ* is recorded.

ditoh putrānām aditer akārṣam (MS. *akāriṣam*) AV. MS. The verse is otherwise jagati, so that probably *akāriṣam* is to be read in AV. with many mss. and SPP.; Ppp., however, has *akārṣam*, and if *akāriṣam* is the true reading it is a matter of phonetics rather than morphology; no 5th aorist from *kṛ* is recorded.

yad rātriya (MahānU. and v. l. of TA. °*tryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA. v. l. *akāriṣam*, not recorded in Poona ed.) TA. MahānU. Cf. prec. The meter supports the regular form *akārṣam*.

tan naḥ paṛṣad (MS. *paṛiṣad*) *atī dṛiṣaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. (Read *paṛiṣad* twice in MS.; in 2. 7. 12c von Schroeder reads *paṛṣad* against all his *samhitā* mss. Acc. to his note l. c. KapŚ. also has *paṛiṣad*.) The form *paṛiṣad* is metrically inferior and formally unprecedented (RV. has *pāriṣat*).

(c) From roots regularly forming only *iṣ* aorist:

pra ṇa (SV. MS. PB. *na*) *dyūnīṣi tāriṣat* (Kauś. *tārṣat*) RV. AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. N. The isolated form of Kauś. (all mss.) can only be an ignorant attempt to 'correct' the supposedly dialectic pronunciation with *i*. This is shown not only by the meter, but by the fact that a 4th aorist from

the dissyllabic root *tr* is monstrous and unheard of. Cf. Wackernagel, 1. §53c. end.

āchetā te (TB. ApŚ. **rā*) *mā riṣam* (KS. *riṣat*; MS. *mārṣam*) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. In MŚ. also *mārṣam* should be read, with all Knauer's mss. But the form is monstrous. Strictly speaking it is a 2d (thematic) aorist, from the root *riṣ*, the *s* as well as the *i* being radical. But it belongs here as being an instance of hyper-Sanskritic pronunciation or *riṣ* for *riṣ*.

§287. There remain only a few cases, more or less dubious in character, which present the aspect of alternative loss or insertion of an 'intermediate *i*' in other cases than when preceded by *r* and followed by *ṣ*:

puru tvā dāśvān (SV. *dāśvān*) *voce* RV. SV. N. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §803a. *dāśvān* is frequently trisyllabic in RV.; Grassmann and Oldenberg assume that the *v* is vocalic. The SV. here presents a secondary attempt to improve the meter.

āpaprivān (MS. **privān*, but p. p. **privān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. These may be regarded as from by-forms of the same root, *āpaprivān* is connected with *prā*, while the dubious nonce-form of MS., if correct, harks back to *pr*, which has no perfect active. The variation, if real, resembles the cases of *Saṁprasāraṇa* mentioned §281.

vayaṁ rāṣṭre jāgryāma (KS. MS. **mā*; TS. and p. p. of MS. *jāgryāma*) *purohitah* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. The regular form of the opt. of *jāgr* is *jāgryāma*. This recalls not only the *Saṁprasāraṇa* variants, like the preceding item, but also (since the following sound *y* may be suspected of being concerned in the insertion of the vowel *i*) the variants mentioned under 5, §§282f.

[*utkraṇsyate* (KSA. *utkrāṇisyate*) *vadhā* TS. KSA. So Conc., but the sole ms. of KSA. reads *utkrāṇiyate*, which van Schroeder properly emends to *utkraṇsyate*.]

9. Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms

§288. Three cases which fall in nowhere else:

madhū yajñāni nakṣati (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīṇānaḥ* (AV. *prai*°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Ppp. has *prīṇānaḥ* with the rest.

agne yat te tejas tena tam atejasam kṛṇu (KS. *tam prati tityagāhi*; MS. ApŚ. *tam prati titigāhi*)...AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. The strange *tityagāhi* of KS. 6. 9 (p. 59, l. 20) is supported by the present *prati-tyakti*, KS. 7. 6 (p. 68, l. 11). It is an adventurous formation, on

the pattern, say, of *vidh*: *vyadh*; possibly, however, a thought of the root *tyaj* may have helped to form it.

ajijapata (TS. TB. *ajijipata*) *vanaspālayah* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. Reduplicated (causative) aorists from the root *ji* 'conquer'; both, but especially *ajijapata*, are highly anomalous.

Cf. also the variant causative stems listed §242, and denominatives, §243.

CHAPTER X. PERSON AND NUMBER

Introductory remarks

§289. The very numerous variations in person and number of verb forms are superficially quite different in character from the other verbal variants. Yet fundamentally they resemble them more than appears at first sight. Like the rest, broadly speaking, they mark and illustrate temperamental fluidity, or shifts in psychological attitude. Thus, to begin with, an activity to be performed or a result to be obtained by the ritual action of a priest or sacrificer may be expressed by a verb in either first, second, or third person, and either singular or plural number. For many variants alternatively conceive the result accomplished, or the action performed, either by the priest or sacrificer (who may be identified with the speaker, the verb being in the first person, or addressed in the second person as being an associate of the speaker), or by some natural or supernatural potency, agency, or implement, in which power resides or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which may be addressed in the second person or spoken of in the third. For instance, as the priest cleans various sacrificial implements, he says, addressing the implement: 'do not wipe off (from me) speech or cattle', *śvacāḥ paśūnā mā nir mārjīḥ* MS. MŚ. But other texts, in precisely similar contexts, say: 'may it not wipe off', or 'may I not (by this action) wipe off', etc.: *rūpād varṇaṁ mā nirmṣkṣat* MŚ.: *śvacāḥ prāṇaḥ . . . mā nir mṣkṣam* TS.: *rūpaḥ varṇaṁ paśūnāṁ mā nirmṣkṣam* ApŚ. The real meaning is essentially identical in all. A very considerable proportion of the variations between first person verbs, on the one hand, and second or third (or both) on the other, belong to this category in which the matter is credited now to the medicine-man or priest himself, now to an agency or potency, whether human, divine, or merely instrumental, which is associated with him and thru which he operates. See §§302, 304, 312.

§290. As between first and second person, another important group contains variations in which the subject of the verb is really the same in either case, namely the priest or priests and his or their associates, who may be spoken of indifferently in the first or second person. See §307. Thus, in *mītrāya (satyāya) havyaṁ ghṛtaṁ juḥota* ('vad vidhema), 'to Mitra (the true one) offer ye (let us offer) oblation with ghee', it makes not the slightest real difference whether the persons who are to offer

oblation are called 'we' or 'ye'; both forms of the *pāda* occur in precisely the same stanza. Moreover, either or both of the verbs may in such cases be either singular or plural: 'I' or 'we', 'thou' or 'ye.' Indeed, nearly all variations between first person singular and first person plural are cases of precisely this sort; see the long list in §345, of which the following may serve as an example: *yad dhastābhyaṁ cakara* (AV. *cakṛma*) *kilbiṣāṇi* AV. MS. TB. TA., 'if I (we) have committed sins with the two hands.' In such cases it is often impossible to say whether the plural expression really thinks of a group of individuals of whom the speaker is one, or whether it is 'editorial', referring really to none but the speaker himself. In many cases, undoubtedly, the latter is true; nor is it at all necessary to suppose then that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is implied in the plural form, altho such may occasionally be the case. See §344 for a few instances where first plural verbs are certainly used referring to the single speaker alone; e.g. *śataṁ jīreṁa* (PG. *ca jīreṁa*) *śaradaḥ purācīḥ* PG. MG., which is spoken by the graduate brahman-pupil: 'may we (which means 'I', as in PG.) live a hundred numerous autumns!' Even MG. has first singular verbs in the rest of the stanza where this *pāda* occurs.—For a few similar cases of second person singular and plural, referring to associates of the priestly speaker, see §347; and for mixed cases (first singular and second plural, or vice versa) see §307, end; e.g. *tasmā indrāya autam ā juhata* (*juhomi*), 'to him, Indra, offer ye (I offer) the pressed drink.'

§291. Another class of variations, involving both person and number, consists of generalizing statements, in which the subject is really indefinite, 'people' in general, 'one' (French *on*, German *man*). Such expressions are usually third person, most commonly plural, but sometimes also singular, as in: *brahmajādyeyam iti* (AV. *°jāyeti*) *ced avocaṁ* (AV. *°cat*) RV. AV., 'if they (indefinite) have (one has) said, who is a brahman's wife!' See §359 for others of this type. Such generalizing third persons also vary with 1st or 2d person forms, which are sometimes definite (as are some of the third person singulars which vary with indefinite third plurals); but sometimes also indefinite. Thus we have a 1st plural indefinite varying with a 3d plural, also indefinite, in: *yathā kalām yathā śapham yathā ṛṇam saṁnayāmasi* (AV. *yatharṇam saṁnayanti*), *evā duṣvapnyam sarvaṁ āptye* (AV. *apriye*, or *diviṣate*) *saṁnayāmasi* RV. AV. (bis), 'as we (= people in general; or, they) load up... a debt, so all the bad-dreaming we load up on (Trita) Āptya (or, the enemy).' And even a singular form, 1st person as well as third, may be used in this indefinite sense: *tam tvā bhaga sarva ij joharimi* (RV. VS.

°ti) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB., 'on thee, Bhaga, every one calls lustily', or, 'on thee, Bhaga, do every I call'. Whitney on AV. 3. 16. 5 renders mechanically 'do I call, entire'; but obviously it can only mean 'do I and every one like me call', or the like; the surrounding *pāṭas* have 1st person verbs, and have influenced this. The TB. comm. glosses *johavāmi* by *āhvayati*, which is by no means as foolish as it might seem at first sight; indeed, it may be called rather exceptionally acute.—On the other hand it is commoner for definite 1st or 2d person forms to exchange with indefinite 3d persons, whether singular or (more often) plural, as in: *vacāṁśy āsā* (SV. *asmai*) *sthavirāya lakṣam* (SV. *lakṣuḥ*) RV. SV., 'I (they = people in general) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (for this mighty one).' Or, 2d person: *yenendrāya samabharaḥ* (MS. KS. °*ran*) *payāṁśi* AV. TS. MS. KS., 'by which thou (= Agni) didst (or, they, indefinite, did) collect milk for Indra.' See §§314, 360.

§292. Among the variations concerning Person, interchanges between 1st and 2d person are relatively rare; those between 1st and 3d are somewhat commoner; but by far the most numerous are those between 2d and 3d. The great majority of these last do not present any very startling features. Most commonly they simply concern shifts from direct address to a person or thing to indirect reference, in contexts where both are equally suitable. See §§327 ff. Not infrequently an entire stanza, containing several clauses, and several verb-forms, is remodelled in this way, so that we have a series of 2d person verbs varying with a series of 3d persons, as in:

navo-naro bhavāsi (AV. JUB. °*si*) *jāyamānaḥ, ahnām ketur uṣasām ety* (AV.† *esy*) *agram* (TS. *agre*), *bhāgam devebhyo vidadhāty* (AV. °*sy*) *āyan, pra candramās tirate* (TS. °*ti*; AV.† °*mas tirase*) *dirgham āyuh* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N.; first *pāda* also TB. AŚ. HG. BDh. JUB. VHDh.; 'Ever new he becomes (thou becomest) born, as banner of the days he goes (thou goest) at the head of the dawns, arriving he shares (thou sharest) out fortune to the gods, the moon lengthens (thou, O moon, lengthenest) out long life.'

§293. It will be noted that, consistently with the verbs, the subject here shifts from nominative to vocative when 2d person replaces 3d; and that the change is made with all verbs in the stanza. In the majority of cases the syntax is thus consistent in both 2d and 3d person passages. There remain, however, a good many passages where the change results in more or less inconsistency. Not seldom we find a third person verb with vocative subject. This occurs three times in the same stanza in the PG. version of the following:

yena striyam (PG. *striyam*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. °tām; ŚŚ. *striyāḥ akurutam*), *yenāpāmṛkatām* (PG. °amṛkatām) *surām*, *yenākṣān* (ŚŚ. °kṣām, PG. °kṣyāv) *abhyasiñcatam* (PG. °tām), *yad vān tad aśvinā yakah* ŚŚ. PG. SMB. Here the direct address to the Aśvins (note the 2d person pronoun *vām*, showing that *aśvinā* can only be vocative) in the fourth pāda makes the 3d person verbs unconstruable by strict syntax. Naturally there is a temptation to emend in such cases. But the thrice repeated 3d person forms of PG. seem to prove that such a temptation should not be yielded to lightly. Stenzler quite properly keeps the 3d persons in his text of PG., altho he translates them as if they were 2d persons. The comm. supplies *bharantau* as subject. Harsh as the construction seems to us, it was clearly the reading intended; and it is supported by many similar cases, listed §332. In the same pages we find also cases of the converse condition, namely, 2d person verbs with nominative subjects, as in:

tā enam pravidvānsau śrapayatam MS.: *tāv imān paśun śrapayatān* *pravidvānsau* TB.

Here only the TB. is syntactically consistent; not only the pronoun and adjective referring to the subject in this pāda, but the noun subjects of *śrapayatam* in the preceding, are nominative in MS.

§294. A milder form of inconsistency is found in the long list of passages found §333ff., where we find no internal inconsistency of the type just mentioned, as between subject and verb within the same clause, but rather a shift from direct address to third-person reference (or vice versa) in parallel and adjoining passages. This produces an effect of more or less harshness. It is not always, to our feeling, so intolerable as it seems in the SV. reading of the following:

yat sānoḥ sānum āruhat (SV. *sān āruhaḥ*) RV. SV.

This is followed by the pāda: *bhūry aspaṣṭa kartam*. 'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor.' The SV. appears to say, 'When thou (Indra) didst mount from peak to peak and he (Indra) beheld much labor'; unless, indeed, we may suppose that SV. understands *āruhaḥ* as an anomalous verbal noun or adjective, depending on the subject of *aspaṣṭa* ('when, mounting etc., he beheld etc.'). But the occurrence of very many other cases where the parallelism is broken almost or quite as harshly justifies us in supposing that the shift in person was not too much for SV. to tolerate.

§295. Attention may be called here to a curious detail which crops out among the variants between 2d and 3d person. When the SV. repeats a RV. mantra containing a verb of which the subject is Soma, it shows a marked tendency to replace a third-person indirect reference

by a second-person direct address to Soma. For example, this occurs in each of the four pādas of the following stanza, the subject being appropriately made vocative instead of the nominative of the RV.:

agre sindhūnām paramāno arṣati (SV. °si), *agre vāco agriyo goṣu gachati* (SV. °si), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV. °se mahād dhanam), *avāyudhaḥ sōtrbhiḥ pūyate vṛṣā* (SV. °bhiḥ soma sūyase) RV. SV.

And so in practically every case found among the Variants as between RV. and SV. in which the subject of the verb is Soma. In seven other cases besides the stanza just quoted the accompanying text is syntactically consistent in both cases; these are listed §328. But in another half-dozen cases, listed §334, the second-person forms of SV. are more or less inconsistent with the context, which presents parallel third-person verbs even in SV. The reverse change of 2d to 3d person in verbs of which Soma is the subject is extremely rare in SV., and due to special reasons; see §335.

§296. Among the variants concerning number, perhaps the most interesting are those in which a verb with singular subject is made dual or plural by a simple process of multiplication of the subject, or by inclusion within the subject of another entity or entities; or vice versa in either case. The instances of the first type are grouped in §348 ff. They call for no comment; the following will serve as an example:

tundhantām lokāḥ pitṛadanaḥ VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.; *tundhatām lokāḥ pitṛadanaḥ* TS. ApŚ., 'let the worlds (or, world) where the fathers sit be purified.'

For the second type see §§353 ff.; the cases are somewhat less numerous, but still common enough; for example:

āsīdantu (SV. *āsīdantu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB. adds *varuṇo*) *aryamā* RV. SV. VS. TB.

Followed by: *prātaryācāṇo adhearam*. The real subject in RV. is the gods in general; *mitro aryamā* are merely examples; Sāyana, *yo mitro devo yaś cāryamā ye cānye prātaryācāṇaḥ...devāḥ* etc. The plural is here the original form, and the alteration is a case of subtraction or division rather than addition or multiplication of the subject. Both SV. and TB. were troubled by the seeming disagreement between verb and subject (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the construction; SV. by making the verb singular, agreeing with the nearer subject, *mitro*; and TB. by inserting *varuṇo* and thus providing three subjects instead of two for the plural verb, in defiance of the meter.

§297. Of great interest, tho of equally great rarity, are the cases (§358) in which a grammatically plural or dual subject (either a *plurale*

tantum, or more than one noun felt as constituting a single unit) is alternatively construed with a singular verb, because the subject is thought of collectively as a unit:

drupaddi tvā muñcatām (TB, °tu, so read with Poona ed.) AV. TB. The subject is found in the preceding pāda, *bhūtaṃ mā tasmād bharyam ca*; 'May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a post.' It would be mechanical and false to explain the singular verb of TB. as agreeing with the nearer subject *bharyam*, as under the type mentioned last. Rather, the two subjects are felt in TB. as forming a single unitary concept.

§298. There remain, finally, a rather considerable number of shifts in either person or number, or both, which are due to real syntactic reconstructions of the passage involving change of subject. Either the mantra may be applied in a different connexion, with a different subject for the verb; or the context may remain the same, but owing to an internal reconstruction the subject may be different and may require a different person or number. The following examples may serve to illustrate these two types; as between second and third person, and between the various numbers, they are hardly capable of further subdivision, and will be found grouped in §§338-41, 361-71. Most of the variants between first and second person, and between first and third, naturally involve change of subject; in so far as they include recognizable groupings, attention has already been called to them.

§299. First, cases in which the formula appears in different contexts. The first example is a pāda occurring in the RV. itself in no less than four different stanzas, three of which are repeated in other texts; in three of the four the verb is second person, the varying subject being directly addressed in each; while in the fourth the subject is referred to indirectly and the verb is therefore third person. The anomalous form (*bhūtu*) of this last version shows that it is a secondary adaptation of one of the others:

asmākam edhy avitā rathānām (AV, *tanūnām*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmākaṃ bodhy as° ra°* RV.: *as° bodhy as° tanūndm* RV. MS. TB. TA. MahānU.: *as° bhūtu as° ta°* RV. AV. TA.; 'be thou (let him be) aider of our chariots (our persons)!'.

Or, a case in which all three numbers, as well as second and third persons, appear, each form being appropriate to its special context:

sunoty ā ca dhāvati RV., 'he presses and adds water'; *sunuta ā ca dhāvataḥ* RV., 'they two press and add water'; *sunoti ca dhāvata* AV. 'press ye (plural) and add water'

§300. Secondly, cases in which the context is essentially the same, but an internal reconstruction furnishes the verb with a different subject, requiring different person or number or both:

ahar no atyapīparat MahānU. SMB., 'the day has brought us across';
ahar mātīyapīparat AV., 'thou (O sun) hast brought me across the day.'

pibāt somaṁ mamaḍad (AŚ. ŚŚ. *somaṁ amailann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayā*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ., 'let him drink the soma, let it exhilarate him at the sacrifice (or, the sacrifices exhilarated him).'

ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī ā prīṇāthām (MS. MŚ. *prīṇa*; LŚ. *prīṇāthām*) TS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'O heaven and earth, be filled (gratified) with ghee', or, 'fill (O post) heaven and earth with ghee.'

niṣkam iṣa prati muñcata ('tām) AV. (both). 'Fasten ye on (another) like a necklace', or 'let him fasten on himself like a necklace.' Here, and not infrequently, a change of voice goes with the change of person and number; see §30. Somewhat similarly, but without a change of voice, the verb is used in a different meaning in the following:

indram samatsu bhūṣata SV.; *indrah samatsu bhūṣati* RV. AV. Preceded by: *ā no viśvāsu haryāḥ* (SV. °yam). 'Let Indra associate himself with us (SV., praise ye Indra), (Indra) who is to be invoked (of us) in every conflict.'

§301. After these preliminary remarks, we now proceed to list the variants concerning Person and Number. As usual thruout this work, we have followed the lines of practical convenience in classifying them, without being too much bound by formal and external schemes. Thus, in the case of the Person variants, we have found it practicable to divide them first into the four natural groups of those which show (1) all three persons, (2) first and second persons, (3) first and third, and (4) second and third. Cross-references from one group to another will enable the reader to bring together such subdivisions of each group as belong together. But as regards the Number variants, such a primary division has seemed to us inadvisable, and our first division has been psychological rather than formal. We begin with variations between first and second persons singular and plural as referring to the priests and their associates. Next come cases in which the same subject appears as singular, dual, or plural, with accompanying change in number of the verb; and, following this, those in which a more inclusive subject varies with a less inclusive one (§296). After this we place the very few variations in which a singular verb goes with a subject felt as collective, tho formally dual or plural; and next the cases of generalizing plural and singular. Then come the variations in number due to change of subject

within the same context; then those due to change of subject involved in a change of context; and finally a few cases which seem to involve errors and corruptions with which little or nothing can be done. Within each of these groups, however, we have separated the variants which occur into the natural formal subdivisions of singular and plural, dual and each of the other numbers, and variations of all three numbers. Occasionally, and in so far as it seems desirable, we have also recognized accompanying changes of person in our subdivisions.

A. VARIANTS CONCERNING PERSON

1. *Variants between all three Persons*

§302. (a) Most of these are of the sort mentioned in §289 above. Namely, they concern cases in which a result is conceived as accomplished either by the priest or sacrificer (first person), or alternatively by some god, potency, agency, or implement, in which magic power resides or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which is either addressed (in second person), or merely referred to (in third person). The considerable number of such variants, swelled by a still larger number in which only first and second persons appear (§304), or only first and third (§312), illustrates very interestingly this aspect of Vedic sacrificial psychology. Thus:

treṣaṁ vaco apāvadhāt (TS. TB. °dhām; MS. °dhāh) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Preceded in all by: *yā te agne 'yāsaya* ('yāśaya) ... *tonār* ... 'That ... form of thine, O Agni ... has driven away harsh words'; or, '... (by it) I have driven away' or 'thou hast driven away' etc. Also: *ugraṁ vaco* etc., see Cono.

Here the real agency is the same in either case; the practitioner operates thru an implement or a force which he controls, and it makes no difference whether the activity is attributed to the one or the other. Similarly:

rdcam pakūn mā nir mārjīh MS. MŚ.: *rdcam prāṇam* ... *mā nir mṛkṣam* TS.: *rūpād varṇam mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ.: *rūpam varṇam pakūnām mā nirmṛkṣam* ApŚ. And other similar formulas in the same context. [*taṁ mā hiraṇyavarcaṣam* (RVKh. *tena mām sūryavarcaṣam*)] *karotu* (RVKh. *akaram*) *pūruṣu priyam* (ApMB. *pūruṣu priyam kuru*) ApMB. HG. RVKh. '(O name,) make me here of golden luster, beloved among the Pūrus!' or, 'let it (the name) make me' etc., or, 'by it (the name) I have made myself sun-colored' etc.

evam garbham dadhāmi (ApMB. °tu) te ŚB. BṛhU. ŚG. ApMB. HG.:

and (in different but related context) *evam tasm* (ApMB. *tasm*) *garbham ādhehi* (ApMB. *ādhatśca*) RVKh. ApMB. MG., *evā dadhāmi te garbham* AV. 'Thus I fix (let him fix) the germ for thee', or, 'fix thou this germ.' In the second version of ApMB., but only there, the woman is addressed: 'Receive thou the germ!' Note the middle voice, and see §30. In all the others the subject is either the practitioner (1st person) or some divine or magical potency (addressed in RVKh. MG., referred to in 3d person in the first version of ApMB.).

mā devānām mīthuyā karma (TS. *mīthuyā kar*; MS. *yāyupāma*; AŚ. *momuhud*; AVPpp. *yāyuvad*, for *mī*^o *karma*) *bhāgam* (AVPpp. TS. MS. AŚ. *bhāgadheyam*) AV. AVPpp. TS. MS. TB. AŚ. So to be read; see Whitney on AV. 4. 39. 9. 'May we (he; mayst thou) not cheat the share of the gods' or the like. TS. *kar* is 2d person, with subject Agni who is addressed in the preceding pāda. Agni is also the subject of the 3d person forms of AVPpp. AŚ., which have 3d person references to him in the preceding pāda.

pari naḥ pāhi (also *pātu*, and *pari mā-pāhi*) *vīśvataḥ* AV. (all): *pari tvā pāmi sarvataḥ* RVKh. 'Protect us (me; let him protect us; I protect thee) on all sides.' In several different contexts.

brahma tena punthī naḥ (IŚ. *mā*; KS. VS. *punātu mā*; MS. TB. *punīmahe*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. IŚ.: *idam brahma punīmahe* TB.: 'The charm (O Agni, that is in thy light), by that purify us (me; may we be purified).' The first person is here due to shift to middle (passive) value, see §30. The subject of the 3d person in VS. KS. can only be Agni, tho the vocative remains in these texts; VS. comm. *bhaviṇ punātu*. Cf. §332.

§303. (b) The rest are of different sorts, and can hardly be classified except as *nikāras* of one another adapted to different situations; the real, as well as the grammatical, subject is generally different, and to a large extent the formulas are used in different contexts. At most two of the three persons may refer to the same subject, as in the 1st and 2d person forms of the following, where the same individual speaks in one form of the variant and is addressed in the other (cf. §308):

śatām jīvantu (AV.* **taḥ*, TB.* ApŚ.* MG. *jīcema*, AV.* SMB. PG.* ApMB.* HG. *ca jīva*, PG.* *ca jīvāmi*) *śaradaḥ purūciḥ* (*svarcāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Somewhat complicated are the variations of this oft-repeated pāda, occurring in several texts more than once. It occurs in three stanzas, at least, which may be considered quite distinct from one

another. In one all texts read *jīvantu* and *purūcāḥ* except AV. which has the correlative participle *jīvantaḥ*. A second, reading *jīvema* and *purūcāḥ*, is found only in TB. ApŚ. The remaining occurrences seem all to concern variant forms of what is essentially the same stanza, sometimes two forms of it occurring in juxtaposition in the same text (as in ApMB. 2. 2. 7 and 8). It is used variously; at the marriage ceremony, at the *upanayana*, at the ceremony marking the close of studentship; and the verb is always 2d person (addressed to the bride or to the *brahmacārīn*) except in PG. 2. 6. 20 and MG. 1. 9. 27, where it is put into the mouth of the *brahmacārīn*; see §308.

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ. **yadhvam*) TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *nākusya prṣṭhe sam iṣṭ madema* AV. Same context. In all but AV. the subject is *devāḥ* in the preceding (voc. in MŚ., nom. in TS. TB. ApŚ., see §329). In AV. it is replaced by *devaḥ*, the subject being 'we': 'let (the gods) revel (O gods, revel ye) here in the highest heaven', or 'may we revel together (with the gods) with food on the back of heaven.'

vīśvam āyur vy ānavat RV. TS. MS. TB. Kauś.:... *ānavai* (AV. **vam*) AV. VS. MS. KS. TB.:... *ānutaḥ* RV.:... *ānutaṁ* (AV. **tām*) RV. AV. ApMB. In several different contexts, which account fully for the variations of both person and number.

suprajāḥ prajāyā bhūyāsam (ApMB. **bhūyāḥ*)... VSK. TS. ApŚ. HG. ApMB.: *suprajāḥ prajābhī(h) syām* (VS. ŚB. also *syāma*)... VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *supoṣaḥ poṣais*... *suprajāḥ prajāyā syām* JB.: *supoṣaḥ poṣatī syāt*... MS. KS. TB. MŚ. In several different contexts.

yad vo 'śuddhāḥ (VSK. **aḥ*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK. *jaghānaitad*) *idam vas tac chundhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *yad aśuddhāḥ parājaghāna tad va etena chundhantām* KS.: *yad vo 'śuddha ālebhe tañ chundhadhvam* MŚ. See §30.

mitrasya mā cakṣuṣā sarvāṇi bhūtāni samikṣantām; *mitrasyāham cakṣuṣā*... *samikṣe*; *mitrasya cakṣuṣā samikṣāmahe* VS. (all, in same passage; the subject of *samikṣāmahe* is reciprocal and includes *sarvāṇi bhūtāni*); *mitrasya vaś cakṣuṣā samikṣāmahe*, and *samikṣādhitram* MS. (in same passage). And others; see Conc. under *mitrasya vaś*, *mitrasya tad*.

tena tṛyasyāyusmantam karomi TS. PG. ApMB.: *tasdyam* (and, *teṣām ayaṁ*) *āyusāyusmān aśv aśau* KS.: *tenāyusdyusmān edhi* MS.

2. Variants between First and Second Person

§304. (a) We find under this head, first, a considerable group of the type described above in §§289, 302, in which the action or result is conceived as brought about sometimes by the priest or sacrificer (first person), sometimes by a divine or natural or supernatural agency or implement, which is addressed in the second person. Thus:

ślenāsya nivarataye (MŚ. 'ya), *satyena parivarataye* (MŚ. 'ya) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'By his divine order do I (thou, addressing the razor) return, by his truth do I (thou) move about.' Spoken in the shaving ceremony, while wielding the razor.

The potency address or referred to is not always clearly indicated; we have seen this illustrated in some of the similar variants of all three persons, and shall find the same in not a few of the following ones, as for instance in this:

(*pari...*) *mahe kṣatrāya* (also: *śrotrāya*) *dhuttana* AV.: (*pari...*) *mahe rāśtrāya* (also: *śrotrāya*) *dadhmasi* HG. 'Wrap ye (we wrap) [him] unto great kingship' or the like. In AV. apparently address to undefined gods.

vī mīmīṣva payasvatīm ghṛtācīm AV.: *vī mīme teḍa payasvatīm devānām* TB. ApŚ. 'Measure thou (Rohita seems to be address) the milk-rich, ghee-full (cow)', or 'I measure thee out, the milk-rich (cow) of the gods.'

payo divy antarikṣe payo dhāḥ (TS. *dhām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Milk do thou place (sc. for me; acc. to VS. comm. Agni is address) in the sky, in the air', or, 'may I place' etc.

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yukṣi (TS. KS. TB. 'yāḥ) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB.: ...'yāsiṣam VS. ŚB. LŚ.: *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yukṣi* MS. 'I have (thou—[O bath]—hast) removed by sacrifice the god-wrought sin by the gods.' Similarly (but in different context): *ava devānām yaja heḍa agne* (KS. *yaje hīdyāni*; MŚ. *yaje hedyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB. ApŚ.: *agne devānām ava heḍa iyukṣva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ. 'remove thou (I remove) by sacrifice the anger of the gods, O Agni', or the like.

vācam te mā hīṣiṣam KS.: *vācam asya mā hīṣaḥ* MS. And so with *caḡṣuḥ*, *caritrān*, *śrotram*, and others. At the slaughtering of an animal: 'may I not harm thy voice etc.', or 'harm not his voice etc.', addressing the animal, or the instrument of slaughter.

garbhān (sc. *prīṇāmi*) Vait.: *garbhān prīṇīhi* ApŚ. 'I gratify (, or, gratify thou—address to the spoon or the remnants eaten from it) the embryos.'

ava bādhe pṛtanyataḥ (ApŚ. **id*) MS. ApŚ.: *ava bādhasva pṛtanāyataḥ* PG.

yāḥ patānām ṛṣabhe vācas tāḥ sūryo agre śukro agre tāḥ prahinomi (ApŚ. **higro*), ... MS. ApŚ. 'These I send forth', or 'these send thou forth' (addressed to the sun? see Caland on ApŚ. 10. 12. 4).

apāraram adevayajanaṁ pṛthivyā devayajanaṁ (ApŚ. *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS. ApŚ.: *apāraram pṛthivyai devayajanaṁ badhyāsam* VS. ŚB. 'Drive away (I would drive away) Araru' etc.

śucīm te (SV. *cā*) *varṣam adhi goṣu dīdharam* (SV. *dhārava*) RV. SV. In SV. addressed to Soma, who is addressed in the preceding in RV. also.

sarvaṁ taṁ bhasmasā (TS. ŚB. *masmasā*) *kuru* VS. TS. ŚB.: *sarvāṁ tām maṣmasā* (MS.† *mṣmṣā*) *kuru* MS. KS.†. TA. *sarvān ni maṣmaśakuraṁ* AV. 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like. *manasaspata imam deva yajñam* (KS. *devayajnam svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāḥ* VS. KS. ŚB.: *manasaspata imam no divi deveṣu yajñam, svāhā divi svāhā pṛthivyām svāhāntarikṣe svāhā vāte dhām svāhā* AV.: *manasaspata imam no deva deveṣu yajñam svāhā vāci svāhā vāte dhāḥ* TS.: *manasaspate sudhāte imam yajñam divi deveṣu vāte dhāḥ svāhā* MS. The AV. version is harsher; the voc. *manasaspate* requires a 2d person verb, which has to be supplied in AV.

atōtāram id dīdhīze (SV. *dadhīze*) *radāsaso* RV. SV. Similar to prec.; here SV. has a *lectio facillior*.

With change of number as well as person:

pra tvā (KŚ. *mā*) *mukhāmi* (RV. * *pra no mukhātām*) *varuṇasya pāśāt* RV. (both) AV. AŚ. KŚ. AG. ApMB. Dual addressed to Soma-Rudra.

taṁ (TS. KS. *addi taḥ*) *supṛitam subhṣtam aharma* (KS. *abhārṣam*; VS. **taṁ bibhṛta*) VS. TS. KS. 'This (embryo) we (I) have made pleasant, well-maintained for you', or 'maintain ye' etc.

niḥ kravīḍam nudāmasi (MS. *nudassa*) AV. MS.: *niḥ kravīḍam sedha* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. In AV., 'we drive out the flesh-eating (fire)'; in YV. addressed to Agni. Different contexts.

bharatam uddhareṁ anuṣiṇca (MŚ. *uddharema vanuṣanti*? doubtful text) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Addressed to the cake (*puroḍāśa*) at the *darśapūrṇamāsa*. TB. comm. understands *uddhara im* (= *imam*), and Caland on ApŚ. follows him; *bharatam* means the *yajamāna* according to comm., according to Caland possibly Agni. Both variants are doubtful.

tayā mā saṁsrjāmasi HG. ApMB.: *tayā mām indra saṁ srja* RVKh. 'With it (*lakṣmī*) we unite me', or 'with it unite me, O Indra.'

tābhīr ā varṭayā punaḥ TS. ApMB.: *tābhya enā nī varṭaya* RV.†: *tābhyas teā varṭayāmasi* KS. 'By (from) them bring them (we bring thee) back.'

§305. Sometimes the change between first and second person accompanies, and is conditioned by, a change between active and middle or passive voice, or between causative and primary verb-forms. These will be found easily from the lists recorded above in §§30, 83ff., 238f.; it is hardly necessary to repeat them here; as examples we may quote: *agne dakṣaiḥ punkti naḥ* (TB. *mā*; MS. *punimake*) RV. MS. TB. 'O

Agni, purify us (me; may be become pure) by thy power!' *saṁjīva* (AŚ. *ApŚ. **rikā*) *nāma stha tā imani* (AŚ. *imam amuḥ*) *saṁjīva-yata* MS. AŚ. ApŚ.: *saṁjīva stha saṁjīvyāsam* AV. 'Ye are enlivening (by name), do ye make this man live', or 'may I live'.

§306. In some other cases we find essentially the same psychology, but with a slightly different turn in formal expression; as when a phrase of MS.,

bhūyāṁso bhūyāsta ye no bhūyaso 'karta, 'be ye more, who have made us more', is (as it were) glossed by the variant of Kauś.,

bhūyāṁso bhūyāstema ye ca no bhūyasaḥ kārṣta, 'may we be more, and likewise ye who have made us more.' (Also the same texts with *an-nāda bhūyāsta* etc.)

The real point is, 'may we be more' in both cases alike; but this is definitely stated in only one form of the variant, while in the other (MS.) the desired result is nominally wished upon the agency used. Cf. with 1st and 3d persons, §313 below. Similarly in the next subject and indirect object exchange places, without real difference of meaning: *trīṇy āyūṁṣi te 'karam* (JUB. **ṣi me 'kṛṇoh*) AV. JUB. Addressed to an amulet. 'Three lives have I made for thee', or '... hast thou made for me'; the last is, of course, the real intention even in AV. *āditya nāvam ārukṣaḥ* (SMB. *ārukṣam*) AV. SMB.: *imāḥ su nāvam āruham* TS. KS. ApŚ.: *sūrya nāvam ārukṣaḥ* AV.: *sundam āruheyam* VS. 'O Sun, I have mounted (may I mount; mount thou) fairly upon a ship', or the like.

The isolated AV. reading (even Ppp. has 1st person forms both times) is curious, and can hardly mean anything fundamentally different from the others; it is explained by the other variants in this section. The conum. on AV. optionally allows the 2d person to be interpreted as 1st person (l).

sannān māvagām (ApŚ. **gāta*) MS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'May I not go (go ye not) to those that are sunk.' Addressed to the sacrificial posts.

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS. *āroha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.
'I have mounted (mount thou) the eye of the sun.'

payasvān (°vān) *agna dṛyamam* (RV. *āgahi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB. 'With milk, O Agni, I have come (come
thou).' The context is the same, and the 'milk' is in either case
for the benefit of the speaker.

deva traṣṭar vasu rama (TŚ. *raṇva*, KS. *raṇa*, MS. *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB.

svargān (AŚ. corruptly *svagān*; Vait. *svargam*) *arvanto jayata* (Vait.
jayema; AŚ. *jayataḥ* [!]) SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. 'Conquer ye, swift
(steeds, *vājino*, pāda a) heaven' or 'may we swiftly conquer heaven'
Vait. is obviously secondary but probably gives the real sense of
the other, original reading. On AŚ. see §250. In AŚ. follows an
alternative form of the pāda, *svargān arvato jayati*, which the comm.
says is designed to indicate that either *arvanto* or *arvato* may be read;
he does not notice the difference in the last word. In fact, *jayati*
and (dual) *jayataḥ* are equally unconstruable.

§307. (b) We come next to a quite different group of first and second
person variants, namely those in which both forms alike refer really to
the same individuals, viz. the priests or their associates, including the
yajamāna with whom they frequently and naturally identify themselves
in speech. See §290 above. As is well known, the ritualists may say
either 'we' or 'you', about equally well, in speaking of themselves and
their fellows. Singular forms, especially of the first person, are also
not rare; cf. below, §§344ff., 347, for variants between first singular and
plural, and second singular and plural, in this sense. In this place we
list such of these variants as concern either person alone, or both person
and number, beginning with those between first and second person
plural:

mitrāya (TS. KS.* TB. ApŚ. *satyāya*) *havyam ghṛtavaj juhota* (TS. KS.
°vad *vidhema*) RV. TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. See §290. The
next is really a mere *vikāra* of this:

tasmā u havyam ghṛtavad vidhema (ŚŚ. ŚG. °vaj *juhota*) TS. ŚŚ. ŚG.
ApMB.: *dhātṛa id dhavyam ghṛtavaj juhota* AŚ. *Dhātṛa* is meant
by *tasmai*.

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ. corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV.
KS. ApŚ.: *athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu* MS. 'Then may we be
(be ye) fragrant in the house.' AV. has different context from the
others.

atra (ŚB. *atrā*) *jalāma 'kivā ye asan* VS. ŚB.: *atrā jahāma* (AV. *jahita*) *ye*

asann aśeṣāḥ (AV. *aśeṣāḥ*, and *asan dureṣāḥ*) RV. AV. (bis) TA. 'Here (may) we quit (quit ye) those that may be unpropitious.'
mṛtyoḥ padam (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto yad aita* (TA. *aita*; AV. *yopay-*
anta eta; MG. *lopoyante yad eta*) RV. AV. TA. MG. (Read prob-
 ably *etaḥ* in MG.)

yathā me bhūrayo 'sata AV.: *yathāsāma jīvaloke bhūrayaḥ* TA. The AV.
 form is very doubtful; mss. '*sataḥ*'; both edd. '*sata*'; comm. also '*sata*',
 glossing *syāta*, as if the form were *asatha*, 2d plural subj.

pāpmānaḥ te 'pahanmaḥ KŚ.: *pāpmānaḥ me hala* (Kauś. '*pa jahī*') MG.
 Kauś.

anaḍvāham anv ārabhāmahe VS. VSK. TA.: *anaḍvāham pṛatam anv*
ārabhadhvam AV. MG. In different contexts.

iṣaṁ madantaḥ pari gāṁ nayadhvam (AV. *nayāmaḥ*) RV. AV. MG.

First and second person singular:

hṛdā matim janaye (VS. KS. TB. °*ya*) *cārum agnaye* RV. VS. MS. KS.
 TB. ApŚ. 'I produce (produce thou) with the heart a lovely hymn
 to Agni.'

tena te vapāmy dyuṣe MG.: *tendāyāyuse vapa* ApMB. See §124. The
 first form is addressed to the boy who is shaved, the second to the
 officiating priest who shaves. This might be classed with the follow-
 ing subdivision.

sakhyāḥ te mā yosam TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *sakhyāḥ te mā yosāḥ*
 SMB. See §168. A reciprocal relation is here expressed in both
 cases: 'may I not be separated from thy friendship', or 'do not
 withhold thy friendship (from me).'

indro vide tam u stuṣe (Mahānāmnyāḥ *stuhī*) AA. Mahānāmnyāḥ. See
 §165. To be classed here if *stuṣe* is first person, as Keith takes it.

With change of number:

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB. ApŚ. *juhomi*) VS. VSK. MS. KS.
 ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by:

tasmai sūryāya sutam ā juhota (ApŚ. *juhomi*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.
viśvān devāṁs tarpayata (BDh. *tarpayāmi*) TB. BDh.

Somewhat similar is the following variant between first dual and
 second singular:

sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB. corruptly, °*padā babhūva*, cf.
 Winternitz, p. xvi f.) ApMB. HG.: *sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB. °*dā*)
bhava AG. ŚG. Kauś. ApMB. SMB. The first is spoken by the
 bridegroom, referring to himself and the bride; the second is ad-
 dressed to the bride alone. See §367.

§308. (c) We come next to a group in which the same person is the

subject of both 1st and 2d personal forms, but in one he is represented as speaking, while in the other he is spoken to. We have met this type already, §303; and a similar interchange is found between 1st and 3d persons, below, §316f. Thus:

paridam vājy ajinam (PG. °*dam vājinam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG. *ajinam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. 'I put (put thou) on this skin with vigor' or the like. In HG. spoken by the *guru* to his pupil; in the others, by the pupil himself.

prāṇasya brahmacāry aśi (ApMB. *aśmi*; HG. *abhār asau*) AG. HG. ApMB. MG. Exactly like preceding; here spoken by the pupil only in ApMB.

marutām (MS. *sapatnahā ma°*) *prasave jeṣam* (MS. *jaya*) TS. MS. TB. ApŚ. 'On the impulse of the Maruts may I conquer (conquer thou).' The subject is the king at the *rājasūya*, who speaks in TS. etc., while in MS. he is spoken to. In a way this might be classed with the preceding group, the king being the *yajamāna*; cf. the variant *tena te vapāmy āyuge, tenāsydyuge vapo*, quoted above, which may be said equally to belong here. Other forms, see §§158, 370.

syonām āsadam suṣadām āsadam LŚ.; *syonām āsida suṣadām āsida* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I have sat (sit thou) on (a throne that is) fair, (that is) a pleasant seat.' Apparently addressed to, or spoken by, the king at the *rājasūya*.

śatam jivāmi (MG. *jivema*, AV. ApMB. HG. *ca jīva*) *śaradaḥ purācāḥ* AV. ApMB. PG. HG. MG. (and others similar, see §303); followed directly in PG. MG. and once in AV. by the following, which occurs in a similar context in the others also:

rāyaś ca poṣam upasamvayasya AV. HG. ApMB.; *rayiṁ ca putrān anuśamvayasya* PG.; *rāyas poṣam abhi samvayasiṣe* PG. MG. In the PG. MG. form of these two pādas, the graduate brahman-pupil speaks in person; in the others he is addressed.

samitam samikalpethām VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *sam ayāva sam kalpāvahai* ApMB. Here a formula belonging originally to the *śrauta* sphere (addressed to two fires, cf. Keith on TS. 4. 2. 5. 1) is secondarily applied in two *grhya* texts, MG. and ApMB. In the former it is addressed without change to the bride and groom by the officiating priest in the marriage rite, while in ApMB. it is spoken by the bridegroom, of himself and the bride.

samnahye (KS. °*hya*) *sukṛtāya kam* TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.: *samnahyasāmṛtāya kam* AV. The bride (AV. ApMB.) or the sacrificer's wife (the others) speaks or is addressed: 'I gird myself (gird thyself) unto goodness (immortality).' On KS., see §30.

§309. (d) Of the few remaining first and second person variants little need be said. For the most part they are simply cases in which a phrase is adapted to a wholly new context, and provided therefore with a wholly different subject. In the first pair of variants we have in one form a deliberate *vikāra* of the other, in adjoining passages:

atī dhanveva tān ihi RV. AV. SV. VS.: *dadhanveva tā ihi*, followed by: *nidhanveva tān imi* TA. 1. 12. 2d (both). And in the same stanza: *yāhi* (TA. also *yāmi*) *mayūraromabhiḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TA. The second version (in 1st person) of TA. is deliberately modelled on the first (in 2d person). Note the anomalous form *imi*, for *emi* (which the meter forbids), under the influence of *ihi*.

No less surely, in the following variant, is the MS. form secondarily adapted from the original (as in RV.) to fit its wholly new context; while TA., altho it has the same new context as MS., retains or restores the original form of the verb as in the different context of RV.:

atāriṣṣma (MS. *°ṣta*) *lamasas pāram asya* RV. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. In MS. TA. the preceding *pāda* is: *vimucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA. *°nīyā*) *devayānāḥ*: 'be released, O cattle, going to the gods, ye (TA. we, under the influence of the original form) have crossed to the farther shore of this darkness.' In RV. KS. the context is wholly different.

§310. In the next we are reminded of the cases listed in the preceding subdivision; but here the subject is changed, the context being a different one; a god speaks of himself in one variant, while two gods are addressed in the other. See on this point Bloomfield's important observation, *RVRep.* 384: 'We may perhaps accept it as a general principle, that in hymns in which a god speaks for himself, repeated *pādas*, which are otherwise attributed by the poets to a god in the 2d or 3d person, are secondary and epigonal.' If this is so, the 1st person form in the following would be secondary:

yat sunvate yajamāndya kīkṣathaḥ (*kīkṣam*) RV. (both).

§311. Of the rest it is unnecessary to speak in detail; they contain changes of person to suit very miscellaneous contexts:

vajro 'si (MŚ. *hāsmi*) *sapṣṭnahā* Kauś. MŚ.

sūryasyāvṛtām anūdvarī (SMB. GG. *anūdvarītasūryau*) AV. VS. KS. ŚB. SMB. GG.

indrasya sakhyam amṛtatvam aśyām (RV. *ānāśa*) RV. TB. ApŚ. 2d pl. perf. in RV.

sajātānām madhyamasthā edhi (AV. *madhyameṣṭhāḥ*; MS. KS. *°meṣṭhe-yāyo*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *saṣṭhā madhyameṣṭhā yathāsāni* AV.

3. Variants between First and Third Person

§312. (a). Here again we find a considerable number of cases in which the statement of something effected by the speaker (expressed in 1st person) varies with a statement of the same thing as effected by the potency on which he relies, which in this case is expressed in the third person, the potency being not addressed directly; cf. above, §§289, 302, 304.

udgrābhenod agrabhāt (MS. *ajīgrabhat*; KS. *ajīgrabham*, and *ajīgrbham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'With elevation he (Indra) has elevated me', or '... I have elevated myself'. The context is the same, and Indra's instrumentality is implied also in KS.

tāḥ sam tanōmi (TS. MS. ApŚ. *dadhāmi*; KS. *dadhātu*) *haviṣā* (MS. *manasā*) *ghṛtēna* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. 'These (offerings) I unite (let him, in KS. Viśvakarman, unite) with oblation, with ghee.' The passages are similar, tho not exactly identical, and 1st or 3d would go well enough in all.

tau yuñjāta (AV. *yokṣye*) *prathamau yoga āgate* AV. SV. 'Them (Indra's arms) let him (I shall) yoke first' etc.

preto muñcāmi (AG. ŚG. SMB. MG. *muñcātu*, PG. *muñcatu*, ApMB. *muñcāti*) *nāmutaḥ* (ŚG. MG. SMB.† *māmutaḥ*; PG. *mā pateḥ*) RV. AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG. Two different contexts: one in RV. AV. ApMB., followed by:

subaddhām amutaḥ karam (ApMB. *karat*) RV. AV. ApMB. 'I release (he, i.e. some god, shall release) her (the bride) from here, not from there; I have (he has) made her well-fastened there.' In the other (GS.) texts, the subject of the verb is Aryaman or Pūṣan, previously mentioned; so, perhaps, ApMB. is to be interpreted. A related but still different formula, *ito mukṣīya māmutaḥ* (ApŚ. *mā pateḥ*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ., is spoken (in a different context) by the bride herself; hence medio-passive, see §30.

idam asmākaṁ bhuje bhogāya bhūyāt (MŚ. *bhūyāsam*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'May this be (may I be here) for enjoyment and feasting unto us.' MŚ. doubtless secondary.

abhi tvā varcasdeicam (AV. **siñcan*, read **siṇcan*, see Whitney on 4. 8. 6) AV. KS. TB. Followed in AV. by *āpo divyāḥ payasvatīḥ*, in KŚ. TB. by *divyena* (KS. *yajñena*) *payasā saha*; Ppp. agrees with TB. The preceding stanza ends in all: *abhiṣiñcāmi varcasā*; perhaps KS. TB. have altered the original under the influence of this, but the Ppp. version makes it doubtful whether the AVŚ. can contain the original form of the pāda. 'I have (the waters have) poured out upon thee' etc.

nir mā muñcedmī śapathāt LŚ. ApŚ.: *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV. AV. VS. 'Let (the herbs) free me from the (effect) of the curse': 'I free myself from the curse.'

mama vrate te hṛdayam (AG. ŚG. *vrate hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG. *dadhātu*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MĠ. 'In my power I set (let him, se. some god, set) thy heart.' See Conc. for other, vaguer, parallels. *annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat* Kauś.: *annādam annādāyādadhe* (KS. *annādāyānnapatyāyādadhe*) TS. KS.: *annādam agnim annapatyāyādadhe* MS.: *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ.: *agnim annādam annādāyādadhe* VS. The subject in Kauś. is apparently Aditi, who is addressed in the others also; they all have 1st person verbs, of which the priestly speaker is of course the subject.

pāramānasya tvā stomena . . . vīryeṇot śrje MS.: *pāramānena tvā stomena . . . vīryeṇa devus tvā savitot śrjatu . . .* (KS. *vīryeṇoddharāmy asau*) TS KS.

bṛhatā teḥ rathashtareṇa . . . vīryeṇod dhare (KS. *vīryeṇotarjāmy asau*) MS. KS.: *bṛhadrathashtarayos tvā stomena . . . savitot śrjatu . . .* TS.

prajāṃ asyai jaradaśīh kṛṇotu (and, *kṛṇomi*) SMB. (both). Subject of *kṛṇotu* is Agni.

sa pūrvyo nūtanam āvivāsat (SV. *ājigīṣam*) AV. SV. Subject of the 3d person is the sun; Conc. suggests that SV. should read *ājigīṣat*, and this would certainly be simpler.

sam ākūṭir namāmasi (MS. *anāṣata*) RVKh. AV. MS.

gurbhaṃ śravantam agadam akah (AŚ. *akarma*) TB. ApŚ. AŚ.: *ukhām* (ApŚ. *gurbhaṃ*) *śravantīm agadām akarma* (KS. *aganma*) KS. MŚ. ApŚ. Followed in next pāda by a series of names of gods, in most texts in the nominative (e.g. *agnir hotā prthivy antarikṣam* AŚ. ApŚ.*; *agnir indras tvaṣṭā bṛhaspatiḥ* TB. ApŚ.*). *akah* is 3d sing., the subject being the following *agnir* (not all the following nouns collectively, as TB. comm. says). The reading with *akarma* may be rendered: 'We have made whole the slipping embryo (fire-pot; or, her that drops the embryo),—(and also) Agni, Indra, etc. (have made it, or her, whole).' Caland on ApŚ. 9. 18. 12 assumes, apparently, that *akarma* corruptly represents a 3d person, but this is neither necessary nor likely.

rūpād varṇam (ApŚ. *rūpaṃ varṇam paśūnāṃ*) *mā nirmṛkṣat* (ApŚ. °*kṣam*); [see §302:] followed by:

vāji tvā sapatnasīham saṃ mārṣti (ApŚ. *mārjmi*) ApŚ. MŚ. After these two formulas comes the command: *iti saṃmārṣti*, in MŚ. 1. 2. 5. 7; see Knauer's note. Knauer speaks of 'stellvertretende Spruchrecita-

tion'; that is, he supposes that the formulas are recited by another priest than the one who does the cleansing. The simple command *iti sammārṣṭi* seems to make this improbable, and we prefer to think that it is spoken by the same priest, but that, as in so many other similar formulas, he attributes the effect to the instrument of cleansing, instead of to himself. 'It shall not wipe off' etc. So in the following, where MŚ. (altho its mss. vary, and in one case they read 1st person) seems to have regularly had a 3d person (or at least so Knauer thinks):

agne vājajid. . . sam mārjmi. . . VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Vait.: *ājim tvagne. . . sammārṣṭi* MŚ. (two formulas, see Conc.) In one case all MŚ. mss. agree on *°mārṣṭi*.

§313. As in the case of 1st and 2d persons (§306), this group is swelled by some cases in which the activity or result is, in one variant, nominally attributed to the instrumental potency rather than the speaker:

so *'mṛtatvam aśya* (VSK. *abyāt*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. 'May I (he) attain immortality.' The subject in VSK. is apparently understood as Varuṇa.

upāśrūnā sam amṛtatvam ānaṭ (ApMB. *aśyām*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ApMB. MahānU. 'Thru soma it gained (may I gain) immortality.' The original subject is *ārmir madhumān*; the ApMB. has a facile and slipshod alteration.

pañca (AV. *trīṇi*) *padāni rūpo* (AV. *rūpo*) *anv aroham* (AV. *°hat*), *catuṣ-paṭim anv emi* (AV. *aitad*) *vratena; akṣareṇa pruti mima elām* (AV. *mimāte arkam*), *ṛtasya nābhāv adhi* (AV. *abhi*) *sam punāmi* (AV. *°u*) RV. AV. An obscure verse in an obscure hymn, used in RV. in the *havirdhāna*, in AV. in the funeral rites; see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, ad 10. 13. 3. In RV. the subject is probably the *holar* (Oldenberg), at any rate the same as in the first-person verbs of the preceding verse; in AV. it is probably Yama as in the following verse. *gāyatreṇa chandasā prthivīm anv ei krame* TS.: *prthivyām* (KS. *°vīm*) *viṣṇur* (MS. *viṣṇuḥ prthivyām*) *vyakransta gāyatreṇa chandasā* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. And the same with *traiṣṭubhena. . . antarikṣam* etc., and *jāgatena. . . divam* etc.

Here would belong the following, if the TA. version were to be accepted as a 1st person form:

pra tad voced amṛtasya (VS. *amṛtaḥ nu*; TA. MahānU. *voce amṛtaḥ nu*) *videān* AV. VS. TA. MahānU. In AV. 'may he (Gandharva), knowing of the immortal, proclaim.' On *voce* see §174. It seems that only a 3d person form can be intended here; so the TA. comm., *provāca*, evidently thinking of *āce*, 3d sing. perfect middle.

§314. (b) We referred above (§291) to the fact that third personal forms, either plural or (less often) singular, are frequently used in a generalizing sense, equivalent to French *on*, German *man*; and to the further fact that first person plurals sometimes vary with them in this same sense (and even, once, a first person singular). In the first cases about to be presented both 1st and 3d persons seem to be generalizing or indefinite:

[*yathā kalām yathā lapham*] *yatha rṇaṁ saṁnayāmasi* (AV. *yatharṇaṁ saṁnayanti*), [*evā durgamyaṁ sarvaṁ āptye* (AV. *āpriye*, or *drigate*) *saṁnayāmasi*] RV. AV. (bis). See §291.

[*yat kiṁ cedam varuṇa dāiye jane*] *abhidrohaṁ manuṣyāś carāmasi* (AV. *caranti*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. 'Whatever here, O Varuṇa, men (we humans) practise that is hostile to the god-folk.' AV. is less appropriate metrically.

yān (PG. *yā*; KS. MG. *ye*) *tā* (PG. *tān*) *rātry* (PG. MG. *rātrīm*) *upāsate* (AV. PG. *upāśmahe*; SMB. *rātri yajāmahe*) AV. TS. KS. SMB. PG. MG. Preceded by *sahvatsarasya pratimān* (PG. *°mā*). 'Thee whom, O night, we (they; both indefinite) revere as the image of the year', or the like.

Perhaps here belongs the following:

pra tve havīṇṣi juhure (KS. *juhumaḥ*) *saṁiddhe* (MS. *tee saṁiddhe juhure havīṇṣi*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The form *juhure* (see §77) may be taken as middle with indefinite subject, 'they offer oblations in thee when kindled' (so Keith on TS.), or as passive with *havīṇṣi* as subject, 'oblations are offered'; much less likely as a 1st sing. with Ludwig. The KS. reading, 'we offer oblations', favors the first interpretation.

And, once at least, even singular forms are used in the same way: *tān tvā bhaga sarva ij jōharīmi* (RV. VS. *°ti*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. See §291.

§315. The rest are generalizing only in the 3d person form, while the 1st person (always singular) is perfectly definite. In the first couple of variants the indefinite 3d person is singular, in all the rest plural:

tān adityān anu madā (MS. *madāt*) *svastaye* RV. MS. If *madā* is 1st singular subjunctive: 'I will (one shall) revel (? revel thou) to the Ādityas unto welfare.' But MS. p.p. reads *madā* (2d sing. impv.), 'revel thou', which would make this variant belong in §307, or §261, according as RV. *madā* be taken as 1st or 2d person.

[*yadi jāgrad yadi svapann*] *ena enasyo 'karam*, [*bhūtān mā tasmād bhavyam ca drupadād ira muñcatām*] AV.: [*yadi divā yadi naktam*] *ena enasyo*

'karat, [bhūtaṁ... murācatu] (so read with Poona ed.) TB. 'If waking or sleeping I, sinful, have committed sin (if by night or day a sinful person has committed sin), may what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a log.' TB. comm. *kṛtaūn usmi* for *akarāt*! Note also *mā* in TB.; there is no doubt that TB. like AV. really means to refer to the speaker's own sin. But by a touch of sly squeamishness the TB. dodges the incriminating first-personal verb, and speaks of himself as if he didn't know who was meant, 'some one or other'!

yaś tū (KS. *te*) *krudhah parovapa* (KS. ins. °*vāpa*, 3d person, which may be kept!; AV. *krudhah pracakruḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

'If I, angry (if an angry man, or angry men) have thrown thee out.' *na vi jānāmi* (AB. *jānanti*) *yatarat* (AV. °*rā*) *parastāt* AV. AB. JB. 'I (they = people in general) do not know which is superior.' (In AV. different context from the others.)

apām rasam udayāṁsam (TA. °*san*) KS. TA. Comm. on TA. *sarve loka udgatāḥ*.

prākto apācīm anayaṁ tad endm AV.: *prācīm atācīm ava yann ariṣṭyai* TA. The 3d plural of TA. can only be indefinite; comm. *vayam avaimo jānēmaḥ*!

vacāṁśy āsā (SV. *asmai*) *sthavirdya takṣam* (SV. *takṣuḥ*) RV. SV. 'I (they) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (or, for this mighty one).'

atrā te rūpam uttamam apāśyam (VSK. °*yan*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. KSA. 'Here I (they = people) have beheld thy highest form.' To the sacrificial horse in YV. In the stanza before this:

śiro apāśyam (VSK. °*yan*) *pathibhiḥ sugebhiḥ*, same texts.—But the VSK. reading is suspicious here, since if Weber's ed. can be trusted, it reads 1st person *ajānām* like all the others in the first pāda of the same stanza. Furthermore Weber records no variant for VSK. on *apāśyam* in the preceding, precisely similar stanza (*atrā te bhadrā raśanā apāśyam*).

yaṁ tū somenāsitṛpāma (TS. °*paṁ*; MŚ. °*pan*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. And, in same stanza:

yaṁ tū somenāmimadam (MŚ. °*dan*) TS. MŚ.

ghṛtaṁ mimikṣe (TA. °*kṣire*) *ghṛtam asya yoniḥ* RV. VS. TA. MahānU. *sam u vān* (vo) *yajñam mahayam* (°*yan*) *namobhiḥ* RV. (both). Grassmann, 'man schmücket' for *mahayan*.

apo devīr (VS. ŚB. *devā*) *madhumatīr agṛbhṛtām* (TS. ApŚ. *agṛbhṛan*, VS. ŚB. *agṛbhṛan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'I (they) have taken

the sweet divine waters'; the subject is indefinite in TS. ApŚ.; in VS. ŚB. it is made definite, 'the gods have taken the sweet waters.'

indrasya tvā jaṭhare sādayāmi (AŚ. *dadhāmi*) . . VSK. KB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. Kauś: *brahmaṇa indrasya tvā* (Conc. omits *tvā*) *jaṭhare dadhuḥ* MŚ. As one eats (*prāśnāti*), he says: 'I place (they, indef., have placed) thee in the belly of (Brahman, of) Indra.' The parallel formulas are all 1st singular even in MŚ., and this is certainly an easier reading; one wonders how the 3d plural indefinite crept in to MŚ.

ratham na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣam (RV.* *ataksīṣuḥ*) RV. (both) TB. The 3d plural is of substantially the same character as the preceding, even tho a subject (*āyaraḥ*) is here expressed in the preceding pāda. The first person has priority; see *RVRep.* 133f.

§316. (c) In a number of cases first and third person forms are used referring, in one way or another, to the same individual as subject. Some of these remind us of the subdivision (b) under First and Second Person variants (§307), in that the subject is both times an associate in the ritual performance, a priest or the *yajamāna*, who either speaks or is indirectly referred to, as:

anuṣā sapatnā (TB. *comin.* and Poona ed. text, ²*nāḥ*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ. *'ham aśmī*) TB. AŚ. See §116. The subject is the *yajamāna* both times.

sarve vātā varuṇasyābhāvan (MS. ²*bhūma*) TS. MS. KS. TB. Spoken by the *yajamāna* at the *rājasūya*. 'They (we) all have become the hosts of Varuṇa.' In either case the associates of the *yajamāna* are meant.

havante vījasātaye RV.: *huvema vā* RV. SV. MS. KS.: *huvya vā* RV. AV. The contexts are different (see *RVRep.* 255f.), but the variant may properly be classified here, since in the 3d person form the subject, *janāḥ* or *kavāḥ*, is really identical with the speaker and his associates.

§317. Again, there are cases reminding us of subdivision (c) under First and Second Persons (§308), in that the change is conditioned by the fact that the same person speaks himself in one variant, while in the other he is spoken of:

anuvatsarīyoditsarīye svastim āśāse MŚ. (spoken by the *yajamāna*): *anuvatsarīyānī svastīm āśāste* TB. ApŚ. (said of the *yajamāna* by the *hotar*). The same with *parivatsarīyām* etc., *samvatsarīyām* etc.

§318. As will be seen from this illustration the dividing line between these different types is not clear. The majority of the variants in this

subdivision are perhaps best described by saying that in one form a statement is couched in more or less general terms, the subject being not clearly identified with the speaker, while in the other (with first person) this identification is definitely made. In a way, therefore, these cases resemble those listed under the preceding sub-section, §315. The difference, which is not by any means sharp or clear, is that in the cases listed here the subject of the third person form is not so indefinite as in those mentioned above; it could not be rendered by German *man* or French *on*, since in fact a subject is expressed, or at least very clearly understood. But this subject is clearly identified with the speaker only in the first-person form of the variant. Thus:

śinanti pākam ati (ŚŚ.† *adhī*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ. *emi*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚŚ.; followed in the first two by:

ṛtasya panthām anv emi (ApŚ. *eti*) *hotā* AŚ. ApŚ. 'They (letters) bind the simple, the wise passes over them (I, being wise, pass etc.); along the path of holy order goes (I go as) the *hotar*.' Spoken by the *hotar*.

āchettā te (so) *mā riṣam* (KS *riṣat*; MS. *mārṣam*) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Let (me) your cutter not suffer harm.' Even in the 3d person form the subject is really identical with the speaker.

yad devayantam avātthaḥ śacibhiḥ, puri ghraṇsam omanā vām (TB. *parighraṇsa vām manā vām*) *vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV. MS. TB. N. 'When you (Aśvins) aid the pious man mightily, then he (I) shall go to refreshment, passing over heat by your aid', or the like. TB. is badly corrupted, and the comm.'s explanations are mostly worthless, but his *gachatu* for *gām* is at least interesting, and not far wrong. The speaker identifies himself with the 'pious man'; as to *gām* TB., while undoubtedly secondary, need not be considered corrupt.

yam sarve 'nujīvāma TS.: *yam bahavo 'nujīvān* MS.: *yam bahava upajīvanti* AŚ. 'On whom many (we all) may depend.'

tiro (RV. VS. ŚB. AG. *antar*) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (TA. ApŚ.* *dadhmake*) *parvatena* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. (bis) AG. ApMB. 'Let them block (hide, or remove; or, 'we hide') death by a mountain.' After the funeral, the living are separated from the dead by a barrier; the subject of *dadhatām* is 'the living'.

§319. If the first-person form is textually sound, the following belongs here; the verb occurs in a relative clause, in one form of which the subject is identified with the speaker, and the verb put in the first person; presumably even the other form really refers to the speaker or his associates:

mā yāḥ somam imam pibāt (KŚ. *pibā*; KS. *somam pibād imam*) KS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. See §331.

§320. Once a speaker is represented as quoting some one else's words about himself; in the included quotation the subject of the verb, referring to the speaker of the main clause, should logically be third person, but in just half the texts it is made first person, by a natural laxity: *abhy aṣṭhām* (MS. MŚ. *aṣṭhām*; TS. KS. ApŚ. *aṣṭhād*) *viśedh pṛtanā arātīh* AV. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. ApŚ. 'I have (he has, referring to the speaker) conquered all battles and hostilities' [thus spake Agni, etc., so. of me].

§321. In a way the converse of this is found in the next variant, in which in one out of three texts the speaker is made to refer to himself in the third person, because the poet thinks of him in the third person: *upamañkṣyati syā* (ŚŚ. *upamañkṣya 'ham*; AB. *nimañkṣye 'hauk*) *salilasya madhye* AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. 'I shall (she, the earth, will) plunge into the middle of the ocean.' The earth is the speaker.

§322. In a still more strange passage both forms refer to the same subject, so far as we can see, which ought to be first person; no justification for the third person is apparent:

prajāpateḥ prajā abhāma (KŚ. *abhāvan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Preceded or followed in all by: *avar devā* (TS. TB. *devān*) *agāma* (MS. *agāma*); and, *amṛtā abhāma*. 'We have gone to heaven as gods (or, to the gods); we (KS. they) have become creatures of Prajāpati; we have become immortal.' In KS, as in most texts, this is the order, with first-person expressions flanking the variant formula on either side. Unless 'the gods' is felt as the subject in KS, which seems unlikely, we cannot explain the 3d person.

§323. (d) The remaining cases concern miscellaneous changes of subject, either in the same context (in about half the cases, those which are listed first), or conditioned by a change of context; a few definite *ūhas* or *vikāras* are included towards the end; and the section concludes with a few corruptions or errors. First, change of subject in what remains essentially the same context:

viśvāvasuṁ namasā gīrbhūr īde (ApMB. *ittē*) RV. ApMB. 'I worship (she, the bride, worships) Viśvāvasu with homage and songs.' The gandhiarva Viśvāvasu is banished from the bride. All mss. of ApMB. agree, see Winternitz, Introduction, p. xix.

dirghāyuteāya jaradaṣṭīr aamī (MG. *astu*) PG. MG. In MG. *jaradaṣṭīr* is understood as a *tatpuruṣa*, while in PG. it is a *bahuvrīhi*; both mean the same thing: 'I am one that attains old age unto long life,' or, 'let there be (for me) attainment of old age' etc.

abhān mama (KS. *nu nah*; MS. *bhūyāśma te*) *sumataḥ viśvavedāḥ* (MS.†
 °*dah*; so text intends with its reading °*dā*, followed by initial vowel)
 TS. MS. KS. PG. 'Viśvavedas is in good-will towards me (us)',
 or, 'may we be in thy good-will, O Viśvavedas.'

nahī te nāma jāgrāha AV.: *nahy aśyā* (ApMB. *asyai*) *nāma grbhañāmi*
 RV. ApMB. See Whitney on AV. 3. 18. 3.

vandadvārā vandamānā viraṣṭu SV.: *vande dāruḥ* (read *vandārur*, or
vandār-vā?) *vandamāno viraṣmi* RV. See Bloomfield, *Johns Hop-*
kins Circulars, 1906, p. 1062; Ludwig, 4. 367; Oldenberg, *RVNoten*,
 on 7. 6. 1.

apah prarayaḥ (SV. *prairayat*, TB. *prairayan*) *sagarasya budhnāt* RV.
 SV. TB. Preceded in all by: *indrāya giro anikītasargāḥ*. Only
 the RV. version is really sensible; the others are careless distortions.
 Benfey is forced to take the preceding *pāda* as a separate sentence,
 making Indra the subject of *prairayat*. TB. *commun.* gives *giro*
 as the subject and *apah* as the object of *prairayan*. Cf. §138.

yad aḥnāt (and, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA. (followed by: *tad aḥnāt*,
 or *rātriyāt*, *pratiṃmucyate*): *yad aḥnā* (and, *rātriyā*) *pāpam akāryam*
 TA. MahānU. The form *kurute* is evidently felt as passive:
 'What sin is done (I have done) by day', etc.

o cit sakhāyaḥ sakhyā vaṣṭyām RV. AV. (Yami speaks to Yama): *ā*
tvā sakhāyah sakhyā vaṣṭyuh SV. (unintelligent revamping of the
 same *pāda*; Benfey, 'dich möchten Freunde zu Freundschaft
 gewinnen'.)

havyā te svadantām (MS. *svadan*, and once *svadam*; KS. *asvadan*) VS. TS.
 MS. ŚB. 'Let thy oblations taste sweet' or the like. If *svadam*
 is right, it must be transitive, 'I have enjoyed thy oblations.' But
 probably *svadan* should be read.

§324. In some of the above it will be noticed that number as well as
 person varies in one form of the variant. Likewise the now following
 list of variants, in which change of subject is conditioned by a change
 of context, contains cases with change of both person and number.

[*apa dveṣo apa hvaro*] *'nyavratasya* (TA. *anyad vratasya*) *śaścīma* (RV.
śaścīre; TA. *śaścīmāḥ*, but read °*ma* with Poona ed.) RV. VS. MS.
 ŚB. TA. In a different context in RV. from the others.

āyusmān (°*mān*, °*māñ*) *jaradaṣṭīr yathāsat* (RVKh. VS. °*sam*; AV. also
 °*sāni*) AV. (both) RVKh. VS. AG. PG. ApMB. Used in no less than
 four different stanzas; two in AV., one in RVKh. VS., and one in
 the GŚ. texts.

yatra devaiḥ sadhamādān madema (AV. *madanti*) AV. MS. TB. In

three different contexts; no two alike. But AV. comm. reads *madema*.

ariṣṭān teṣa saha patyā dadhāmi (ApMB. *kṛṇōmi*) RV. ApMB.; *ariṣṭān mā saha patyā dadhātu* KŚ. MŚ. MG.; *ariṣṭāham saha patyā bhūyāsam* VS. Similar stanzas, but extensively recast. 'I set thee (let him set me; may I be) uninjured with thy (my) husband.' In the last two forms the woman speaks.

sañjānate manasā saṁ cikitre RV.; *sañjānāmahai manasā saṁ cikited* AV.

sarvam āyur vy ānase (MS. *āsnavaī*) MS. TB. ApŚ.; *vīsvam āyur vy āsnavaī* (AV. mss. **vat*) AV. VS. KS. TB.; *dīrgham āyur vy āsnavaī* PG. The vulgate text of AV. emends to **vām*, unnecessarily; subject is *sabbā*. The context is different from the rest.

Deliberate *ūhas* or *vikāras*:

ayaṁ (AŚ. **aham*) *īatrūn jayatu* (AŚ. **jayāmi*) *jarhṛṣṇaḥ* (AŚ. **tjar-hiṣṇaḥ*), *ayaṁ* (AŚ. **aham*) *vājam* (VS. VSK. ŚB. *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ. **jayāmi*) *vājasttau* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis).

In AŚ. 2. 11. 8c we have a *vikāra* of the other passage.

diṣyam dhāmāśāste (and, *ūha*, *āśāse*) ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

adṛśan (and, *apāśyam*) *tvāvarohantam* NīlarU. (both). The first is a *vikāra* of the other.

taṁ tvā paramesṭhīn pari rohita (*pari agnir, pari aham*)... *dadhātu* (*dadhāmi*) AV. 13. 1. 17d. 18d, 19d.

jyotiṣe tantava āśiḡam āśāse (KS. 7. 2 **ste*) KS. 7. 2, 9 (so, correct Conc.)

If these are the correct readings, we have another case of *ūha*. But the sole ms. used by the ed. for 7.2 reads *āśāste* also in 7.9; if corrupt in one passage, it is likely to be corrupt in the other too. The better reading seems to be *āśāse*; probably read so both times, with ms. D on 7.9 and KapS. (see editor's note).

gamat sa (*gamema; sa yantā*) *gomatī vraje* RV. (all).

jyok paśyema (RV. also *paśyāt*, and *paśyema nu*, omitting *jyok*) *sūryam uccarantam* RV. (all) AV.

§325. Corruptions or errors:

idam vām tena prīṇāmi ŚŚ.: *etad vām tena prīṇāti* TB. ApŚ. So Conc., and so Garbe reads in ApŚ. But TB. (both edd.) has *prīṇāni*, and this is to be read also in ApŚ., see Caland on 2. 20. 6, note 2.

vājino me yajñān vahān (MŚ. text *vahāni*, followed by *iti*; probably read *vahān* with v. 1.) MS. KS. MŚ.

rāyas pośāyotarje (MŚ. erroneously **jet*) MS. MŚ.

tām te vācam āśya ādāte (read *ādade*)... PG. 3. 13. 6 (see Stenzler's critical note): *ā te vācam āśyā* (*āśyām*) *dade* HG. ApMB.

sthāmny aśvān atīṣṭhipam AV.; *sthāmni vrkkāv atīṣṭhipan* AV. vulgate, misprint for °*pam*, see Whitney on 7. 96. 1.

Under: *prāṇena vāc manasā bibharmi*, Conc. quotes TB. 2. 5. 8. 7 as reading *bibharti*; this is an error; there is no variant.

4. Variants between Second and Third Person

§326. These are much more numerous than those between first and either second or third person. Nor are they by any means lacking in interest. But little comment is needed on most of them. The great majority are simply cases in which the same subject is alternatively addressed in second person or indirectly referred to in third; and the most interesting feature of this large class is that sometimes one or the other form is inconsistent with its context. This inconsistency may be of two kinds: either the subject of the second person may be a nominative or that of the third person a vocative; or parallel expressions in the surrounding context may be of the opposite type (direct address by the side of third-personal reference) in one form. Examples of all these types have been quoted above, §293f.; they will form the basis of the following classification. We shall conclude with the smaller, but still not inconsiderable, number of cases in which the change of person is associated with a real change of subject, either in the same context, or owing to the use of the phrase in a different context.

§327. (a) First, then, variations between direct address and third-personal indirect reference to the same subject, in which there is no inconsistency with the context in either variant. The subject, if expressed, is nominative with the 3d person and vocative with the 2d; and if there are parallel expressions associated, they present no inconsistencies. In not a few instances, as we shall presently see, a whole stanza, containing several parallel verbs, is recast, each verb being changed from 2d to 3d person or vice versa.

§328. Attention must first be called to the little group of cases in which Soma is referred to in the 3d person in RV., but directly addressed in the 2d person in a repetition in SV.; see §295, and for cases in which the context is inconsistent, §334.

agre sindhūnām pavamāno arṣati (SV. °*si*), *agre vāco agriyo goṣu garhati* (SV. °*si*), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV. °*se mahād dhanam*), *svāyudhah sotṛbhiḥ pūyate vr̥ṣā* (SV. °*bhiḥ soma sūyase*) RV. SV. Here an entire stanza is recast; note that the nominative subject of RV. becomes a vocative in SV.

[*ayā somah* (SV. *soma*) *zukṛīyayā*,] *mahaś cid abhy arardhata* (SV. *ma-*

hānt saṃn abhy avaridhāh), *mandāna ud* (SV. *id*) *vr̥ṣāyate* (SV. °*se*) RV. SV.

te no dhāntu (SV. *dhatta*) *suwiryam* RV. SV. There is no expressed subject, nor other finite verb, in the stanza; Soma is understood as subject.

pavītre pari śicyate (SV. °*se*), *krandan devān aṣṣjanat* (SV. °*naḥ*) RV. SV. The (unexpressed) subject is Soma.

pavamāno vy āśnavat (SV. °*na vy āśnuhī*) RV. SV.

nadayann eti (SV. *eṣi*) *prthivīm uta dyām*; and, in same stanza: *pracetayann arṣati* (SV. *pracodayann arṣasi*) *vācam emam* RV. SV.

In this and the rest the unexpressed subject is Soma.

vājān abhi pra gāhate (SV. °*se*) RV. SV.

hariḥ san yonim āsadat (SV. °*daḥ*) RV. SV.

§329. The rest are miscellaneous, and need no subdivision. At the beginning of the list are placed a number of instances of entire stanzas, or series of formulas, varying in this way:

navo-navo bhavati (AV. JUB. °*si*) *jāyamānah, aṇmān ketur uṣasīm ety* (AV.† *egy*) *agram* (TS. *agre*), *bhāgam devebhyo vidadhāty* (AV. °*sy*) *āyan, pra candramās tīrate* (TS. °*ti*; AV.† °*mas tīrase*) *dirgham āyuh* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N.; the first pāda also TB. AŚ. HG. BDh. JUB. VHDh.

ihi (AV. *etu*) *tisrah parāvataḥ, ihi* (AV. *etu*) *pañca janān atī, ihi* (AV. *etu*) *tīro 'ti rocandh* (AV. °*nā*, despite gender of *tīro*!) RV. (first two pādas only) AV. TB. ApŚ. Address to, or said of, a rival.

ye rātrīm (KS. °*im*) *anutiṣṭhanti* (KS.† °*athā*), *ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati* (KS. °*gr̥tha*), *paśān ye sarvān rakṣanti* (KS. °*athā*), *te na ātmāsu jāgrati* (KS.† *jāgrtu*) AV. KS.

amocī (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartiyai* (AV. *avadyāt*), *druhaḥ pāśān nirṣtyai codamocī* (AV. *pāśād gr̥hyāt codamukthāḥ*), *ahā avartīm* (AV. *arātīm*) *avidat* (AV. °*daḥ*) *syonam, apy abhūd* (AV. *abhūr*) *bhadre sukṛtasya loke* AV. TB. ApMB. The two verse-halves are secondarily separated in AV. but obviously belong together, see Whitney on AV. 2. 10. 2. The verb *ahā*(s) may be either 2d or 3d person, and this ambiguity may be responsible for the alteration in the others. Probably AV. with its second persons is secondary (*ahās* seemed to call for them!), for Ppp. has all verbs in the same form as TB. ApMB. (Barret, JAOs. 30. 193).

yad asarpāt (KS. °*pas*) *tat sarpiḥ abhavat* (KS. °*caḥ*, MS. omits); *yan navam aīl* (KS. *aīs*) *tan navantīm abhavat* (KS. °*vaḥ*); *yad aghriyata* (KS. °*thās*, TS. *adhriyata*) *tad ghṛtam abhavat* (KS. °*vaḥ*, MS. omits) TS. MS. KS. The butter is referred to or address.

hato (SV, TB, *hatho*) *vrtrāṇy āryā* (AV, TB, *apratī*) RV, AV, SV, TB.: followed in RV, SV, by:

hato (SV, *hatho*) *dāśāni satpati*, *hato* (SV, *hatho*) *viśvā apa diviṣaḥ* RV, SV. In SV, the entire stanza is changed to a direct address. The first pāda is used in AV, TB, in a different stanza, addressed however to the same gods (Indra and Agni), who are directly addressed in the 2d person; as Whitney remarks, only *hatho* (as in TB.) is construable; yet all AV, mss., followed by both edd., read *hato*. This AV, reading belongs to §332 below. It seems clear that it is a very ancient perversion, due to recollection of the R̥gvedic form of the pāda.

pitṛn yakṣad (TS, *yakṣy*) *ṛtāvṛdhah*; preceded by, *yo agniḥ* (TS, *yad agne*) *karyavdhanah* (TS, °*na*; RV, *kravyā*°), and followed by:

pred u (TS, *pra ca*) *haryāni vocati* (TS, *vikṣyasi*) RV, VS, TS, KS.

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ, °*yadhvam*) TS, TB, ApŚ, MŚ. See above, §303.

akartām āśvinā lakṣma AV.: *kṛṇutam lakṣmāśvinā* AV. See §130.

agnir me hatā sa mopahavyatām ŚB.: *agne grhapata upa mā hvayasva* KS, ApŚ, MŚ.: *agnaya updhvayadhvam* Vait.

agnināgniḥ sahvadatām TA.: *agne agninā sahvadasva* TA, ApŚ.

iha rama MS, AB, AŚ, ApŚ.: *iha ramah* HG, 1, 12, 2 (not *rama*; construe as noun): *iha ramatām* VS, ŚB, HG. Used in various connexions, but in VS, and MS, in precisely the same set of formulas. The immediately preceding formula in both is addressed to gods, referring (in 3d person) to the sacrificial horse; but just before this the horse is directly addressed in a series of formulas; hence it is easy for MS, to address *iha rama* directly to the horse; no harshness is felt. VS., however, is equally natural in referring to the horse in the third person; the prayer in *iha ramatām* may quite as well be addressed to the gods just mentioned. Mahidhara, however, thinks the horse must be addressed, and supplies *bharān* with *ramatām*.—There seems to be nothing inconsistent with the person in the other texts.

dyām (VSK, *divam*) *agrenāsprkṣa antarikṣam madhyenāprāḥ pṛthivīm uparenādr̥ṣhīḥ* VS, VSK. (for which read in Conc, °*āsprkṣah*) KS, ŚB, (address in all to the *yūpa*); *devo vanaspatiḥ* (sc. *yūpo*) *varṣapṛāḥ ghṛtanirṇig dyām agrenāsprkṣad antarikṣam madhyenāprāḥ pṛthivīm uparenādr̥ṣhīḥ* MS, KS, TB. Note that *apras* may be either 2d or 3d person, and that KS, has both forms of the variant.

uṣo dadṛkṣe (PB, *ūṣā*, read *uṣā*, *dadr̥ṣe*) *na punar yatiṣa* RV, PB,

- śivena mā* (ApMB. *tvā*) *cukṣuṣā paśyatāpaḥ* (ApMB. *paśyante āpaḥ*),
śivayā tuncopa sprśata tvacāṁ me (ApMB. *sprśantu tvacāṁ te*) AV.
 TS. MS. AB. ApMB. *āpaḥ* nom. in ApMB., voc. in the rest.
- steḡo na kṣām aty eti pṛthivīm* (AV. *esi pṛthivīm*) RV. AV. In a riddle-
 some verse, the meaning of which is equally obscure in either form;
 there is nothing inconsistent with either person in the context.
- svargēya lokēna saṁprorṇuvāthām* Vait.; *svarge* (TS. TB. *svarge*) *loke*
prorṇuvāthām (TS. KSA.† TB. *saṁpror*?; VSK. TS. TB. *°rṇuvā*?; MS.
°tām) VS. VSK. TS. KSA. MS. TB. ŚB. Address to (in MS. said of)
 the queen and the horse in the *ālvamedha*.
- ghṛteṇa* (Kauś. *vapayā*) *dyāvōpṛthivīṣṭ prorṇuvāthām* (VS. TS. ApŚ.
prorṇuvāthām; MS. MŚ. *prorṇuvāthām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
 ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. The subject, *dyāvōpṛthivīṣṭ*, is nom. in MS. MŚ.
saṁ arir (MS. KS. *arir*) *vidām* (KS. *vidāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. The
 formula is obscure; see Eggeling on ŚB. 3. 9. 4. 21. No basis for
 preference as to person.
- kurvato me mā kṣeṣṭa* (GB. Vait. *kṣeṣṭhāḥ*) MS. GB. Vait.:...*mopadasat*
 TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. And: *sadato me mā kṣāyi* (GB. *me mopadasah*,
 MS. *°sat*), same texts.
- aśvinā pibataḥ* (VS. KŚ. *°tām*) *madhu* (TB. ApŚ. *sutam*) RV. VS. TB.
 ApŚ. MŚ. and (pratikā) KŚ. *aśvinā* nom. or voc.
- ity adadāḥ* (ŚB. *°dāt*) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The subject is the *yajamāna*,
 who is praised either in direct address or indirect reference by
 singers: 'Thus thou didst (he did) give!' Similarly: *ity ayajathāḥ*
 (ŚB. *°ta*), and: *ity ayudhyathāḥ* (ŚB. and, as quoted in Conc.,
 MŚ. *°ta*), and: *ity amuṁ saṁgrāmam ahaṁ* (MŚ. *ajayathāḥ*, ŚB.
ajayat), same texts. [I question the quotation from MŚ. 9. 2. 2
ayudhyata, since it is inconsistent with all the others; it was fur-
 nished by Knauer from mss. for the Conc., and has not been pub-
 lished even yet. F. E.]
- īdāḥ vāteṇa sugareṇa rakṣa* (MS. *rakṣatu*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Subject in
 prec. pāda, *indra* (MS. *indrah*) *stomēna*... Note that *indra* before
st- might be understood as = *indrah*. The MS. makes this single
 pāda (in a *triṣṭubh* verse) *jagatī*, and is clearly secondary.
- devā dereṣu śrayantām* (TB. *śrayadhvaṁ*), *prathamā devīyeṣu śrayantām*
 (TB. *śrayadhvaṁ*), *dvitīyās tṛtīyeṣu śrayantām* (TB. *°dhvaṁ*) KS.
 TB. Subj. *devāḥ*, voc. or nom.
- no asmin ramato jāne* (AV. *ramase patau*) RV. AV. ApMB. Subject is
 a rival wife.
- mahyaṁ* (this goes with prec. pāda in MŚ.) *yajamānāya tiṣṭha* (MŚ.
tiṣṭhatu, mss. *tiṣṭhat*) TS. MŚ.

yato na punar āyasi (AV. **ti*) AV. TB. ApŚ. Address to, or spoken of, a rival. AVPPP. agrees with TB. ApŚ.

ślakṣyam evāva gūhati (ŚŚ. **si*) AV. ŚŚ. And (pree. vs.):

tiṣṭhantam ara gūhati AV.: *tiṣṭhann evāvagūhasi* ŚŚ. (but here the mss. of AV. have *gūhasi*). Unintelligible stuff.

sam revatir jayatibhiḥ preyantām sam (VSK. om. *pr^o sam*) *madhumatir madhumatibhiḥ preyantām* VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *sam revatir jagatibhiḥ madhumatir madhumatibhiḥ sṛjyadhvam* TS. TB. The adjectives are noms. even in TS. TB., but no noun subject is exprest, so that this cannot be called a syntactic inconsistency.

yadā prāṇo abhyavarṣat AV.: *yadā team abhivarṣasi* PraśU. *team* refers to *prāṇa*; the stanza is identical.

kāmanī duhātām iha śakvaribhiḥ AV.: *rāṣṭram duhātām iha revatibhiḥ* TB.

The subject, *dyāvāpṛthivī*, is nom. in AV., despite which most of its mss. read *duhātām* (but PPP. **tām*). In TB. it is made voc.

gām copasṛṣṭāṁ rihāraṁ antareṇa mā samcārīṣṭa ApŚ. (followed by *iti samipreṣyati*): *rihāraṁ ca gām copasṛṣṭāṁ antareṇa mā samcārīṣṭuḥ* MŚ. (followed by *iti brūyāt*). '(He orders, or he shall say:) "Do not (they, the people, shall not) step between the cow... and the rihāra."'

agnir āyus... tenāyuyāyusmān edhi MS.: *agnir āyusmān... tasyāyam āyuyāyusmān astu asau* KS. And others, see Conc.

agne vihi AB. ŚB. AŚ. MŚ.: *agnir hotā vete...* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agnis tūn asmāt pra nūnottu lokāt MŚ.: *agnis tūn* (VS. *tān*; AŚ. *tāl*) *lokāt pra nūdaty* (AŚ. *nūdaty*; SMB. *nūdaty*) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. SMB.: *agne tūn asmāt pra nūdasva lokāt* ApŚ.

athemā vīlvāḥ pṛtanā jayāsi (RV. **ti*) RV. (both) SV. AB. TB. The subject is Indra both times, tho the context varies; *jayāti* is probably secondary. See RVRep. 397.

aditih keśān vapātu AG. MG. ApMB.: *aditih śmatru vapatu* AV. MG.: *adite keśān* (and, *keśāśmatru*) *vapa* PG.

antar mahānś carati (and, **si*) *rocaneṇa* RV. (both). Agni is the subject both times, tho the context varies.

annapate 'nnasya (*annasya*) *no dehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. PrānāG. AG. ŚG. MG. ApMB.: *annasyānnapatih prādāt* PB.: cf. *āsāye 'nnasya no dhehi* Kauś.

abhi prayānsi sudhitāni hī khyah (and, *khyat*) RV. (both). Agni is the subject both times.

ararur (MS. *ararus te*) *dyām mā paptat* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *araro divām mā paptah* VS. ŚB. Vait.

avasānapate 'avasānam me vinda TB. ApŚ.: *avasānam me 'avasānapatir vindat* MŚ.

avāsrjat (RV.* °*jaḥ*) *sartave sapta sindhūn* RV. (both) AV. JUB.

avyo (SV. PB. °*yaṁ*) *vāraṁ vi dhāvati* (RV.* °*ei*) RV. (both) SV. PB.:

avyo vāraṁ vi pavamāna dhāvati (subject is here *rasa*) RV.

aśvināu cha gachalam RV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: . . . *gachatām* (TS. TB. °*taṁ*, in the same stanza) RV. TS. TB. N. The subject is nom. with 3d person, voc. with 2d.

asmabhyam citraṁ vṛṣṇaṁ rayiṁ dāh RV. SV. MS. TB.: . . . *dāt* (but so only p.p. in MS., its *samhitā* mss. *dāh*!) MS. TB. Indra is the subject in both, but the stanzas are otherwise different; in the first direct address, in the second indirect reference. The *samhitā* mss. of MS. were influenced by recollection of the other form of the *pāda*.

kṣeme tiṣṭhāti (ŚG. *tiṣṭha*, PG. *tiṣṭhatu*, HG. *tiṣṭhati*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇā* AV. ŚG. PG. HG. The subject is a house (*śālā*), which is directly addressed in the sequel even in AV. Nevertheless the 3d person is logical and natural, since the house is indirectly referred to in the preceding.

(*prṣṭhena dyāvāprthivī* (MS. adds *āprṣṭa*)] *antarikṣam ca vi bādhasa* (MS. *bādhasva*, TS. *bādhatām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §116. Addressed to, or said of, one of the altar-bricks. The preceding contains an address to Indra-Agni; the sudden shift to a direct address to the brick may have seemed harsh to the redactor of TS., hence his (evidently secondary) change to third person.

asmāsu nṛmṇaṁ dhāt MS. TA. ŚŚ.: *asmāsu nṛmṇaṁ dhāh* KB. Same context, but KB's version is fragmentary; it contains nothing inconsistent with the 2d person.

svāllam cit sadevaṁ havyam āpo devīḥ svadaltānam TS. ApŚ.: *svāllam sad dhavir āpo devīḥ svadantu* MS.: *āpo devīḥ svadantu* (VSK. *sad*°) *svāllam cit sad devahaviḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. Subject *āpo devīḥ*, voc. or nom.

āyātu varadā devī TAA. TA. MahānU.: *āyāhi viraje devī* MG.

(*abaddham mano* . . .) *dikṣe mā mā hāsīḥ* (KŚ. *hāsīt*) TS. KŚ. BDh.: (*adabdhām cakṣur* . . .) *dikṣen* (sc. *dikṣa-id*) *mā mā hāsīt satapā* MŚ. The KŚ. reading, with voc. subject and 3d person verb, belongs in the next subdivision, but is doubtless corrupt; read probably *dikṣen* in KŚ. Cf. however Keith's AA. 237, note.

(*indraḥ*, SV. *indra* . . .) *kratuṁ punīta* (SV. °*ṣa*) *ukthyam* RV. SV.

īndro vājam ajayit TS. TB.: *indra vājam jāya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

uṣṇena vāya udakenehi (SMB. GG. *udakenaidhi*, ApMB. *vāyar udakenehi*, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. On the very dubious form of MG. see §136.

apātām aśvinā gharmam VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. LŚ.: *gharmam apātām aśvinā* (accented in MS! but not in TA.; TA. adds *hārdvānam*) MS.TA. ApŚ.: *aśvinā gharmam pātām hārdvānam* (MS. *pibatām hārdvānam*, TA. *pātām hārdvānam*, LŚ. *pātam aharvānam*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. (in the last *aśvinā* is voc. in all; this precedes the other form of the variant in all). The MS. form of the first-quoted formula is inconsistent (if not corrupt) and belongs in the next subdivision.

devān ā sādāyād (TB. ApŚ. °yā) *iha* RV. VS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Agni is the subject in both, but the contexts are otherwise different.

ṛṣṇmā punāno arṣasi RV. SV.: *ṛṣṇmā vasāno* (SV. *punāno*) *arṣati* RV. SV. Subject is Soma Pavamāna both times. Contrast §328.

punāno vācam iṣyati (and, °si) RV. (both). As in preceding.

sāvitrīm bho anu brāhi AG. ŚG. ApG. MG.: *sāvitrīm me bhavān anu brāhītu* GG.

madhvā yajñam nakṣati (VS. TS. *nakṣas*) *prīṇānah* (AV. *prai*°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *narāsaṁso agniḥ* (VS. TS. KS. *agne*). All are consistent except KS., which belongs with the next subdivision.

ayūlā devebhīr amṛtenāgāḥ (MS. KS. °gāt) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. The stanza is radically reconstructed, tho fundamentally the same. *prthivī mātār mā mā hīnsīh*... VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *mā mām mātā prthivī hīnsīt* TS. MS.

bhavati bhikṣām dehi Kauś.: *bhavān bhikṣām dadātu* AG.

yudhendro mahnā varivāś cakāra RV. AV.: *yudhā devebhyo varivāś cakārtha* RV. AV. The subject of *cakārtha* is Indra in one (and that probably the older one) of the two occurrences in RV., see RVRep. 87.

svayam pibantu (TS. *juhudhvam*) *madhuno ghr̥tasya* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

śṛṅgotu (RV. **rakṣā ca*) *no damyebhīr anīkaiḥ* RV. (both) AB. See RVRep. 110.

rājā pavitraratho rājam āruhaḥ (and, °hat); followed by:

śahasrabhr̥ṣṭir jayasi (and, °ti) *travo br̥hat* RV. (both). Subject is Soma Pavamāna.

yathāgnir akṣito 'nupadasta evam mahyam pitre 'kṣito 'nupadasta (HG. °taḥ) *svadhā bhava* (HG. *bhavatām*) ApMB. HG. And the same

with *yathā vāyur...*, *yathādityo...* Subject is *ūrmīh* (waters offered to the manes), either directly addressed or indirectly referred to.

vikvedevāso adhi vocatā naḥ (TS. *mā*) RV. TS.: *viśve devā abhi rakṣantu* (KS. *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* AV. KS.† 'O All-gods, bless us (me)', or 'let the All-gods protect (attend) us.' The All-gods are not otherwise mentioned in the stanza; nevertheless the direct address to them seems rather harsh; hence, no doubt, the change to 3d person in AV. KS.; and hence, perhaps, Keith's presumably accidental translation (of TS. 4. 7. 14. 2d) as 3d person ('may the all-gods befriend me'; 'befriend' is not a happy rendering of *adhi-vocatā*).

vy antarikṣam atirah RV. AV.: ... *atirat* RV. AV. SV. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. Subject is Indra; in different stanzas, both consistent.

īyeno na vaṁsu śidati RV. SV.: *īyeno na viṣṇu śidati* RV. SV.: *īyeno na vaṁsu kaluṣeṣu śidasi* RV. Soma-Pavamāna is the subject in all. *saṁ devī* (KS. *devī*) *devyorvakyā paśyasva* (KS. *°orvākhyata*) TS. KS. ApŚ.

sa yajñam pāhi (ŚŚ. *pātu*) *sa* (AŚ. *om.*) *yajñapatiḥ pāhi* (ŚŚ. *omits*) *sa mām pāhi* (ŚŚ. *pātu*) TB. GB. AŚ. Vait. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau kuṣevāḥ TB. ApŚ.: *yajñam praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau mañnām* MŚ. See §158.

mālevāsmā adite śarma yacha (ŚG. *aditiḥ śarma yaṁsat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB.

sahāvāitu jarāyugā ŚB. BṛhU.: *saha jarāyugādeva sarpatu* (ApMB. *°yugā niṣkramya*) HG. ApMB.: *sahāvehi jarāyugā* RV.: *sākam jarāyugā pata* AV. The contexts are all similar, and each is internally consistent.

indriyam me vīryam mā nir vadhiḥ (MŚ. *vadhiz(a)*) TS. MŚ. The subject is soma in either case. The variant belongs here if *vadhīḥ* is 2d person as assumed by Keith on TS. 3. 1. 8. 3; but since MŚ. has a 3d person, *vadhīḥ* may also be 3d person as assumed by Caland and Henry, *L'Agnistoma* 153 (Keith's objection, i. e., is not valid).

yathāvaśam tanvam (AV. *°vaḥ*) *kalpayāti* (RV. *°yasma*) RV. AV. VS. Context contains *avarād*, nom. (in apposition to subject), even in RV.; this is doubtless responsible for the lectio facillior of AV. VS.; no subject is formally expressed in RV.

vājino vājajito vājam sariṣyanto (TS. ApŚ. add, *vājam jesyanto*) *brhaspater bhāgam avajighrata* VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *vājinau vājajitau vājam jitaḥ brhaspater bhāgam avajighratam* (KS. *°idam*) MS. KS. MŚ. The same noun forms, alternatively taken as nouns. or voces. So also in next.

vājīno vājayīto vājam sasvāñso (KS. *jigivāñso*; TS. *sasvāñso vājam jigivāñso*) *bṛhaspater bhāgam arajighrata nī mṛjānāḥ* (KS. *bhāge nī mṛjātām*; TS. *bhāge nī mṛjādhvam*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *vājīnau vājayītau vājam jītvā bṛhaspater bhāge nīmṛjyethām* MS. MŚ.

aram āsvāya gāyati (SV. °ta) RV. SV. Subject is the n. pr. Śrutakakṣa in next pāda, nom. in RV., voc. in SV. Note plural verb despite singular subject in SV.

asme dhārayataṁ (MŚ. °tām) *rayīm* RV. MŚ.: *asmai dhārayataṁ rayīm* AV. Subject *agnīṣoma*, originally voc., felt as nom. in MŚ.

om utsrjata (MG. °tu) TA. ŚŚ. AG. PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG.: *utsrja* (LŚ. °jata) *gām* LŚ. SMB. GG. See §347.

ṛtund somam pibatam (KS. °tu, MŚ.† °tām) KS. MŚ. ApŚ. Subject *Āsvins* in ApŚ. MŚ. (nom. or voc.); in KS. a priest.

mā mā hāsīn (MŚ. *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāmi* (KS. °nī) AV. KS. MŚ.: *mā no hāsīn metthito net tvā jahāma* TB. ApŚ.: *mā no hīnsid dhīnsito na tvā jahāmi* AŚ. The subject, in prec., is nom. in all; but the rest of the verse, including the latter part of this variant (note *tvā*), is thrown into a direct address in 2d person, and MŚ. assimilates its *hāsīn* to this, instead of *hāsīt*. Neither form can therefore be called inconsistent with the context.

asau yaja AŚ.: *asau yajate*. . . LŚ.

bhuvad vīśvam abhy āderam ojasā RV.: *bhuvo vīśvam abhy āderam ojasā* SV. Subject is Indra. Preceded by direct address in 2d person, but followed by reference in 3d person; thus neither form is inconsistent with surroundings.

akvīnā bhīṣajāvataḥ (MS. °tam; TB.† °ta) VS. MS. TB. See §116.

yā (AV. TS. *yār*) *ātmanvad bibhrto* (KS.† °tho; AV. *vīśatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (KS.† AV. °thoḥ) AV. TS. MS. KS. Followed in same texts by:

yau vīśvasya paribhū (KS. *vīśvasyādhipā*) *babhūvathuḥ* (TS.† °tuḥ). These are pādas b and c of a verse in which the subjects, Vāyu and Savitar, are in all texts referred to in 3d person in a, and directly addrest in d. Therefore no text is completely consistent in the verse; and the variant pādas are in every case consistent with a part of the context.

buddhāḥ pūtā bhavata (TA. °tha, MG. °ntu) *yajñīyāsaḥ* RV. TA. MG. Also in pāda a MG. recasts the expression to make the verb 3d person instead of 2d; it is internally consistent, altho secondary and poor.

imam no yajñam vīhava juṣasva (AV. *śṛṇotu*) RVKh. AV. TS. KS. TB.

The AV. is consistent with the prec. half verse (3d person); the others, with the following pāda (direct address in all). Subject Indra.
rāyas poṣaṣ (KS. *traṣṭaḥ poṣāya*) *vi ṣyatu* (AV. MS. KS. *vi ṣya*) *nābhim asme* (AV. *asya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The subject, Tvaṣṭar, is nom. with 3d person, voc. with 2d. On the dual form of the variant (*viṣyatām*) see §368.

§330. With accompanying change in number:

prathamam artim yuyotu naḥ MG.: *pra sa* (read *su*) *mṛtyuṣ yuyotana* HG.: *pra sumartyaṣ* (ApMB. *su mṛtyuṣ*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB. The subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere.

tena brāhmāṇo vapatedam asya (ŚG. *adya*) AV. TB. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB.: *tena brāhmaṇo vapatu* MG.: *tenāsyādyuṣe vapa* ApMB. 'By that (razor), O priests, shave his (head) here' or 'by that let the priest shave (him)', or (a kind of *ūha* in ApMB.) 'by that shave thou his (head) unto long life.'

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharaitam (AŚ. *sambhavatām*, MŚ. *sambharetām*) TB. ApŚ. AŚ. MŚ. In TB. ApŚ. address to god Agni (2d sing.); in AŚ. MŚ. subject is two fires (3d dual).

rājānaṣ saṃgāyata (PG. *ḡyētām*) ŚG. PG. Stenzler renders PG. as a direct address, as if *ḡyēthām* were the reading, tho he quotes no such reading. There seems to be no reason why the two lute-players should not be referred to in the 3d person: 'let them sing of the king.' In ŚG. a plurality of lute-players is directly address.

salakṣmā (MS. KS. *ma*) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *paṁ*) *bhavāti* (MS. KS. *babhūva*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāṇo bhavatha* TS. See §104, h. In the YV. texts used of the animal victim, who is addressed in the sequel; hence the change to 2d person in TS., which is however evidently secondary.
anu ma idam vralaṣ vralapatir manyatām MS.: *anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir manyatām* (KS. *palayo manyadhvam*; ŚB. **palir amāṣta*)... VS. TS. KS. GB. ŚB. (bis) Vait. See §130.

§331. There are a few variants in which a verb in a relative clause is alternatively made 3d person, because of the relative pronoun serving as subject, tho the person referred to is still directly address. This psychological shift is familiar in other languages:

yā tīraśā nipadyase (AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. *te*) ŚB. BṛhU. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. ApMB. HG. The same person is directly address in all: 'thou who liest (lies) down across...'

ya ājagma (N. °muḥ) *savanemā* (TS. KS. *savanedaṁ*; N. *savanam idaṁ*; VS. MS. ŚB. *ya ājagmedaṁ savanaṁ*) *juṣṭāpāḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. '(O gods) who have come' etc.; gods are directly address in all. Only N. makes verb 3d person, because of the relative.

yad aīṣi manasā dūram PG.: *ya eti pradīśaḥ sarvāḥ* ApMB. The subject is addressed in the 2d person (pronoun *ted*) in the sequel even in ApMB.; the third person is due to the relative. 'Who goest (or, if thou goest) to all directions (to a distance with thy mind)' is the real meaning of both.

yā rājānā (TS. °naṁ) *saratham yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS. MS. KS. '(O Mitra-Varuṇa,) who go, two kings, mighty, against the (warrior) with his chariot (or, who go, mighty, against the king with his chariot)'—[do ye free us from sin].

Possibly the following also belongs here:

mā yaḥ somam inam pibāt (KŚ. *pibā*; KS. *somaṁ pibād inam*) KS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. See §319. The next pāda begins with *s*; possibly *pibāḥ* (if not even *pibāt*) is to be read in KŚ. If the text is correct, of course *pibā* is 1st person, not 2d.

§332. (b) There remain a number of cases of this same sort in which one form of the variant is more or less inconsistent with its own context. Thus, first, there are cases in which third-person verbs are used altho the subject is vocative, or is referred to with second-person pronouns, pointing to direct address. These cases, naturally, tempt to emendation; but probably the temptation should usually be resisted, as it certainly should in the following verse of PG. Such third-person verbs occur no less than three times in it, and are translated by Stenzler as second-persons, altho he very properly did not venture to emend his text in view of the insistent tradition. The comm. supplies *bhavantau*; and this familiar classical third-personal expression for what is really a direct address is, no doubt, influential in many of these expressions in later texts. Cf. *bhavati bhikṣāṁ dehi* (*bhavaṁ bhikṣāṁ dadātu*), §329.

yena striyam (PG. *kriyam*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. °tām; ŚŚ. *striyāṁ akurutam*), *yenāpāmṛśalaṁ* (PG. °vāmṛśalāṁ) *surām*, *yenākṣāṁ* (ŚŚ. °kṣām, PG. °kṣyāv) *abhyasiñcalam* (PG. °tām), *yad vām tad abvinā yaśaḥ*, ŚŚ. PG. SMB. The first pāda also GG. (reading as SMB.); the third also AV., reading *yenākṣā abhyasiṇyanta* (the dice are made the subject of the now passive verb). See §293.

Or, conversely, one form of the variant has a 2d person verb with a nominative subject, as:

- tā enaṁ praviḍvāṁsau śrapayatam* MS.: *tā imam patum śrapayatām* praviḍvāṁsau TB. Not only the pronoun and adjective referring to the subject in this pāda, but the noun subjects in the prec., are nom. in MS.
- mā no gharma vyathito vinyadhāt* (TA. *vinyatho naḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā naḥ soma hvarito viharasva* MŚ. (so read, see §150); followed in same verse by:
- mo zvataṁ asmān tarādhāt* (so read with p.p.) MS.: *mā se* (Poona ed. *mo se*) *asmāns tamasy antar ādhāt* TA.: *mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt* (mss. *ādāt*) MŚ. In view of the voc. *gharma* (*soma*), it would appear that MŚ. MŚ. must understand the subject to be indefinite; but it can hardly be anything else than the *gharma*. The formula is a *prāyascitta* spoken upon ominous performance of the *gharma* or *soma*-offering.
- adubdho gopāḥ* (KS.† *gopaḥ*) *pari pāhi naḥ tvam* (KS. *pari pātu vīcataḥ*) RV. TS. KS.: *tvam no gopāḥ pari pāhi vīcataḥ* AV. The subject (in prec. pāda) is *agne* RV. AV., *agnir* TS. KS.; TS. is inconsistent (2d person with subject nom.).
- agnir dād* (TS. *dā*) *draviṇam vīrapakāḥ* RV. TS. The subject being *agnir*, TS. is inconsistent; but note the following *dr-*, and cf. §24.
- srjad dhārā ava yad dānavān han* SV.: *srjo vi dhārā ava dānavān han* RV. N. The subject is *indra*, voc., even in SV., and the prec. parallel verbs are 2d person.
- kadā sutam tṛṣṇa oka ā gamah* (SV. *gamat*) RV. SV. AV. The subject is the voc. *indra*, followed by *se-* and perhaps felt as nom. (for *indraḥ*) in SV? Benfey baldly translates 3d person verb with voc. subject.
- derebhyo havyam* (MS. MŚ. MG. *havyā*) *rahatu prajānan* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Vait. MŚ. Kauś. MG.: *derebhyo havyam raha naḥ* (Kauś. omits *naḥ*) *prajānan* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. There are three different contexts here, one with the second variant, and two with the first. All are consistent with their contexts except that MŚ. alone has the form *rahatu* with a preceding voc. subject.
- patyur janitvam abhi sam babhūtha* (TA. *babhūva*) RV. AV. TA. See §262, f. The subject is *tvam*, and TA. comm. glosses *babhūva* with a 2d person.
- pītā mātariśvāchīdrā padā dhāt* (KS. AŚ. *dhāt*) TS. KS. AB. AŚ. 5. 9. 1. In TS. AB. nom. subject with 2d person verb; KS. AŚ. are consistent.

vy astabhñā (VS. ŚB. *aska°*, MS. *aṣka°*, KS. *aṣṭa°*, TS. *askabhñād*, TA. *aṣṭabhñād*) *rodasī viṣṇav* (VS. MS. KS. *viṣṇa*, TS. *viṣṇur*) etc. followed by:

dādharīha (TS. *dādhrā*) *prthivīm abhito mayūkhaiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The pres. half verse is address to Heaven and Earth; hence, no doubt, TS. changes these pādas to a 3d person reference to Viṣṇu, which seems less harsh than a direct address to him. TA. has a blend, being internally inconsistent, or at least harsh; despite the voc. subject and the 2d person verb retained in pāda d, it joins TS. in having a 3d person verb in pāda e.

tasya na iṣṭasya prīṭasya draviṇhāgameḥ, etc. (see § 104, u). Here all forms of the variant are self-consistent (nom. with 3d person, voc. with 2d) except MS., which has *draviṇhāgamyāt*; its p.p. reads *draviṇa* (accented!); is this form possibly felt as a nom. pl. neuter, with sing. verb? The following parallel formulas in MS. have 3d person verbs with nom. subjects.

yamasya dātāś ca vāg vidhāvati (TA. *dātuh* *īvapād vidhāvati*); followed by:

grāhrah suparṇaḥ kuyapam niṣerati (TA.† *niṣerase*) MS. TA. The TA. comm. regards the *grāhra* as address, despite the nom. form.

[*viśvasya devī mṛcayasya* (ŚŚ. *mṛṣayasya*) *janmano*] *na yā roṣāti na grabhat* (ŚŚ. *grabhaḥ*) AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'The goddess of the imperishable (?) kind, who shall not be angry, shall not (or, do not) seize us.' Keith takes *grabhat* as part of the relative clause, which leaves no main verb in the passage; it seems better to regard *grabhat* as the main verb, with subject *devī*. It may be that the original reading was *devī* (voc.), followed by *grabhaḥ*, and that *grabhat* is due to secondary form assimilation to *roṣāti*, whose 3d personal form is justified by the relative (cf. §331). As it stands, ŚŚ. is inconsistent, since the only possible subject for its 2d person verb is nominative.

ajātaśatruḥ syonā no astu TS. MS. AŚ.: *ajātaśatruḥ suhavo na edhī* KS. The subjects (a series of nouns, in the preceding) are all noms.; KS. is harsh.

yajamāṇāya draviṇam dadhātu (VS. ŚB. KS.* *dadhāta*) AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The subject is nominative, and parallel clause 3d person, in all. On the plural see § 355.

hato (SV. TB. *hatho*) *vṛtrāny dryā* (AV. TB. *apṛati*) RV. AV. SV. TB. The AV. variant is inconsistent as between subject and person of the verb; see §329.

sa no mayobhūḥ pīto (pitav) *drīṣasva* (*drīṣeha*; MŚ. *pītur drīveṣa*) TS. TB.

AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG: *sa naḥ pīto madhumān ā vireṣo* Kauś. Voc. with 2d person verb in all but MŚ, Kauś.; in MŚ. nom. with 3d person (equally consistent); in Kauś., however, if the text is right, we have voc. with 3d person verb! See §69.

madhva yajñam nakṣati ("se) *prīṇānaḥ* (prati?) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. See § 329. KS. is inconsistent.

īmau rīryaṁ (TB. *rayīm*) *yajamānāya dhattām* (TB. *dhattam*) MS. TB. The 2d person of TB. is inconsistent with its nom. subject, *akṣina* (accented). The comm. finds no difficulty in ignoring the accent and taking it as voc. But in the next pāda occurs a parallel verb *raṅgatām*, with the same subject. Even this does not disturb the comm., who calmly interprets it as if it were 2d person (*sarvato bhayāt pālayatam*). In truth, of course, it is rather *dhattam* which must be an error for 3d person *dhattām*.

śarad dhemantaḥ suvite dadhāta (MŚ. "tu) KS. MŚ.: *śarad varṣāḥ suvitam* (ŚG. *sukṛtaṁ*) *no astu* (AV. *suvite no dadhāta*) AV. TS. ŚG. SMB. In AV. KS. the six season-names which precede are directly addressed in 2d person, tho they are nom. in form, not voc. Doubtless for this reason MŚ. substitutes a 3d person, and since the 3d plural would not fit metrically, makes it singular, agreeing with the nearest of the six subjects; see § 355. The other texts dodge the difficulty by making *suvitam* the subject of a copulative verb, *astu*.

dereṣu naḥ sukṛto (VSK. *dereṣu mā sukṛtaṁ*) *brātāt* (KS. *brāta*; PB. MŚ. *brūyāt*) VSK. TS. KS. PB. MŚ.: *derebhya mā sukṛtaṁ brātāt* (ŚB. with *āha*, *voceḥ*) VS. ŚB.: *sukṛtaṁ mā dereṣu brātāt* TS. A 2d person is required, and PB. comm. reads *brātāt*; probably MŚ. (in an unpublished part of the text) is likewise to be read *brātāt*.

vider (VS. KS. ŚB. *vided*) *agnir* (VSK. ŚBK. *agner*; MS. MŚ. *agne*) *nabha nāma* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚBK. MŚ. See Keith on TS. 1. 2. 12. 1, note 2. The TS. is inconsistent (2d person verb with nom. subject). The others all rectify the syntax by one change or another.

mā no dyāvōprthivī hīḍiṣethām MŚ.: *mā dyāvōprthivī hīḍiṣātām* TA. In MŚ. as well as TA. *dyāvōprthivī* is nom. (accented); and the preceding parallel pāda is in the 3d person.

akarat sūryavarcasam ApMB.: *akṛyaḥ sūryavracam* RV. AV. JB.: *avakṛyot sūryavracam* MG. The subject, in the preceding pāda, is *indra* (voc.) in all but MG.; even ApMB. 1. 1.9 reads so, despite 3d person verb, cf. Winternitz, Introduction, p. xvi. And indeed even MG., tho it makes the subject nom., *indras*, to agree with the 3d

person verb, still retains the voc. epithet *śatakrato* in pāda b, agreeing with it! Only RV. AV. JB. are really grammatical.

brahma tena punīhi naḥ (mā; *pundtu mā*; *punīmahe*), *idam brahma punīmahe*, see §302.

(*abaddham mano...*) *dikṣe mā mā hāsīh* (KŚ. *hāsīt*, corrupt?) TS. KŚ. BDh.: (*adabdhām cakṣur...*) *dikṣen mā mā hāsīt...* MŚ. The KŚ. is inconsistent.

§333. (c) In a very large number of other cases, while there is no inconsistency between the case of the subject and the person of the verb, we note more or less inconsistency between the person of the verb and the surrounding context, in one form of the variant. (See §294.) That is, for instance, in a passage containing several parallel verbs with the same subject, one is suddenly shifted from 2d to 3d person, or vice versa. Or, a 3d person verb is found when in an adjoining passage direct address to the subject is indicated by a 2d person pronoun; or the like. The result is a more or less harsh anacolouthon. This condition is not by any means always secondary; indeed, it happens very frequently that the anacolouthic syntax appears to characterize the older form of the variant, and a later text smoothes it out by a change of person in one verb.

§334. In half a dozen cases, however, of verbs of which Soma is the subject, and which in the RV. are third person, and occur in the context of other (parallel) third-person expressions, the SV. changes the 3d person to 2d, producing a direct address to Soma which is inconsistent with the context (cf. above §§295, 328):

adhi triprṣṭha uṣaso vi rājati (SV. ²*ai*) RV. SV. The subject, soma, is spoken of in the 3d person in the preceding even in SV.

apṛchyam dharuṇam vājy arṣati (SV. ²*ai*) RV. SV. The subject, soma, is referred to in the 3d person in the pree, pāda.

punāno vāram pary ety (SV. *vāram aty eṣy*) *avyayam* RV. SV. ApŚ. The subject, soma, is referred to in 3d person in the 1st half of the same verse.

vīśa yad rūpā pariyāty (SV. ²*sy*) *ṛkvaḥhiḥ* RV. SV. Otherwise 3d person in the verse.

vṛthā pājānsi kṛnute (SV. ²*se*) *nadīṣe ā* (RV.† once omits *ā*) RV. (bis) SV. Otherwise 3d persons in the verse.

arṣan (SV. *arṣā*) *mitrasya varuṇasya dharmaṇā* RV. SV. Parallel verb in the preceding is 3d person in both.

§335. In two cases, however, the reverse change takes place in SV. in verbs of which Soma is the subject; there are special reasons for both.

vr̥ṣa acikradad vane SV. 2. 430b, 480b: *vr̥ṣāva cakradad* (9. 107. 22b *cakrado*) *vane* RV. 9. 7. 3b, 9. 107. 22b. In SV. 2. 430b = RV. 9. 107. 22b Soma is addressed in the latter part of the stanza; yet he is here referred to in the 3d person in SV., probably under the influence of the parallel passage 2. 480b = RV. 9. 7. 3b, which has 3d person in both texts.

pr̥y(heṣe) erayā (SV. *airayad*) *rayim* RV. SV. Here RV. is inconsistent; the subject, Soma, is the subject of a 3d person verb in the next pāda. In SV. this is smoothed out.

§336. We may note that it is only Soma for which SV. seems to feel this urge towards direct address; e.g., in the following, where the Maruts are the subject, SV. changes secondarily a 2d person address to a 3d person reference, despite direct address to the Maruts in the preceding: *vilve pibata* (SV. *pibantu*) *kāminah* RV. SV.

§337. The long list of remaining cases is as follows:

yat sānoḥ sānum āruhaḥ (SV. *sāne āruhaḥ*) RV. SV. The subject is Indra, who is otherwise spoken of in the 3d person even in SV.; the next pāda is *bhūry aspaṣṭa karteam*. 'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor.' A 2d person verb here is intolerably harsh; one is tempted to guess that SV. felt *āruhaḥ* as a verbal noun, dependent on *aspaṣṭa* (l). This would perhaps be no worse than other forms of which SV. is guilty. But probably it merely shifts to direct address to Indra; see § 294.

yena bhūyaś (PG. *bhūriś*) *carāty ayam* (AG. *ca rātryam*, MG. *caraty ayam*, PG. *carā divam*), *jyok ca paśyāti* (PG. *°si*; MG. *°yati*) *sūryam* (MG. *°yah*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. The subject is the boy in the shaving rite (except that MG. makes it *sūryah* in the 2d pāda; perhaps also in the first? doubtful); he is address in the 2d person in the rest of the verse in AG. PG. MG., spoken of in the 3d in ApMB. As to persons, PG. and ApMB. are consistent; AG. flagrantly inconsistent; MG. patches together a makeshift reading, keeping 3d person but changing the subject.

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ. *°yāu*) *abhātām* (MS. *°thām*): and (in same verse) *divi* (KS. *diva*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS. KS. *ullamam*) *ārabhelām* (MS. KS. *°thām*) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ. In prec. pāda both MS. and KS. have the 3d person *gachātām*; both are therefore inconsistent. On *abhātām* (middle!) see §§21, 56.

antaś carati (MahānU. PrāṇāgU. *°si*) *bhūteṣu* TA. TAA. MahānU. PrāṇāgU. LVyāśDh. ŚāṅkhaDh. The subject (*paramātmā*, TA. comm.) is address in the second person in the 2d half of the verse.

samprīyaḥ paśubhir bhava (TB. ApŚ. *bhuvat*) MS. TB. ApŚ.: *samprīyaṁ prajāyā paśubhir bhuvat* TA. The subject (Agni) is referred to in the 3d person even in MS. in the preceding.

vīśvo (TS. *vīśve*) *rāya igudhyati* (TS. °*si*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Both variations in TS. are corrupt; see Keith (p. 21, n. 3), who translates the RV. reading. As K. remarks, the 2d person is apparently intended to match *puṣyase* in the next line; but this is an infinitive, not a finite form.

mā no hr̥ṣṭām atithīr (SV. *hr̥ṣṭhā atithīm*) *vasur agnīḥ* RV. SV. The subject can only be Agni in SV., which seems to understand the last two words as a separate sentence: 'Be not ashamed of our guest (O Agni!); Agni is good.'

ūrdhvo adhvāro āsthāt (VS. ŚB. '*dhvāra āsthāt*, KS. '*dhvare āsthāḥ*, ApŚ. *adhvare āsthāt*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'The offering has stood upright', or (KS.) 'thou (Agni) hast stood upright at the offering', or (ApŚ.) 'he (Agni, who is directly address in both the preceding and following) has stood' etc. Caland assumes '*āsthāḥ*' as the true reading of ApŚ.

sā naḥ payasvati duhām (TS. PG. *dhukṣva*; MS. *duhe*; SMB. *duhā*?) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. SMB. PG. The subject (*ekṣṣṭakā*) is spoken of in the 3d person in the 1st half of the same verse even in TS. PG., which here address it directly. For the doubtful reading of MS. SMB. see §104, b.

subhṛṣajam yathāśati (AV. °*si*; LŚ. *yathāśat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. LŚ. Different contexts; but, as Whitney remarks *ad loc.*, the 3d person would suit better in AV.

tat satyam yad vīram bibhṛthaḥ (MŚ. † °*taḥ*); *vīram janayisyathaḥ* (MŚ. °*taḥ*); *te mat prātaḥ prajānayisgethe* (MŚ. °*te*); *te mā prajāte prajānayisyathaḥ* (MŚ. °*taḥ prajāyā paśubhiḥ*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded, even in MŚ., by a direct address in 2d person.

(*indraś ca naḥ śunāśirāv*) *imam yajñam mimikṣatam* (ŚŚ. °*tām*) TB. ŚŚ. Followed by: *garbham* (ŚŚ. °*ān*) *dhattam evantaye*, so that ŚŚ. is inconsistent. Its reading is evidently a reminiscence of the form of the pāda which occurs elsewhere, in a different context, with *mimikṣatām*; see §341.

arākṣasā manasā taj juṣeta (TS. MS. *juṣava*; KS. *juṣethāḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §160. In the following 2 pādas Agni is referred to in 3d person.

imam yajñam abhi gr̥ṣṭa vīśvo RV. VS.: *idam no havir abhi gr̥ṣṇantu vīśvo* AV. The subject is the *pitṛs*, who are address in the next line in the 2d person even in AV., and AV. comm. reads *gr̥ṣṭa* here.

nātārīd (TB. °rīr) *asya samptiṁ vadhānam* (TB. ba°) RV. TB. The parallel verbs are all 3d person; TB. comm. glosses *na prāptavān*. *niśīdan* *no apa dūmatīṁ jāhi* (TS. *hanat*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The subject is understood as Agni. The first part of the verse refers to him in 3d person and is directly address to plants; the majority of the texts change to a 2d person address to Agni, while TS. alone, more consistently but presumably secondarily, continues the indirect reference.

parācata ā jagantā (AV. *jagamyāt*; TS. *jagāmā*) *parasyāh* RV. AV. SV. VS. MS. KS. Subject Indra, who in the following is address in 2d person in all.

pitaraḥ pitāmahaḥ pare 'care tatās tatāmahaḥ iha māṣata (PG. *māvantu*) TS. PG. The last of a series of similar formulas; the preceding ones are 3d person in both texts.

purā grāhrād araruṣaḥ pibātaḥ (TB. *pibāthaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. In the following TB. also has 3d person verb.

prādāḥ (SMB. *prādāt*) *pitr̥bhyāḥ svadhayā te akṣan* RV. AV. VS. TS. ApŚ. SMB. Subject Agni, address in 2d person thruout the verse in most texts, but in SMB. only in the last pāda; in this (the 3d) pāda, and in the 1st (which is a different one from that of the other texts), it has 3d person forms; in the 2d pāda the form is ambiguous (either 2d or 3d).

mā mā hīṣāt (VS.† KS. ŚB. *hīṣāh*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Prec. by *mā tvā hīṣāt* (KS. ms. *hīṣāh*). In the Tait. school texts the verb-form is mechanically assimilated to the preceding; just as in the one ms. of KS. the form of the prec. verb is assimilated to the following (properly emended by von Schroeder, since the object *tvā* makes 2d person verb obviously impossible). Subject *kr̥ṣṇōjīna* (Mahidhars on VS.).

yathā jyok sumanā asāh (HG. *asat*) ApMB. HG. The prec. formula addresses the boy in 2d person even in HG.

yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (KS. °thād) *draviṇeha dhātāt* RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. N. In KS. inconsistent with context; see §24.

vākpā vācam me pāhi (MS. *pātu*) TS. MS. AB. AŚ. And the same with *śrotapāḥ śrotam*, *cakṣuṣpāḥ* etc. *vākpāḥ* is nom., which makes 3d person at least easier; and the prec. is a 3d person statement in TS.

viśvasmā id iṣudhyate (TB. °se) RV. TB. Followed by:

devatrā haryam ūhiṣe (RV. *ohiṣe* and *ohire*) RV. (bis) SV. TB. On the relation of the RV. forms see *RVRep.* 131f. The SV. occurrences repeat RV. 8. 19. 1 (which has *ohire*) but seem influenced by RV.

1. 128. 6 (*ohiṣe*). TB. repeats RV. 1. 128. 6 but makes it more natural; *ohiṣe* (p.p. *ā ohiṣe*) is surrounded by 3d person verbs referring to the same subject (Agni), so that attempts have even been made to explain *ohiṣe* as an infinitive (see *RVRep.* loc. cit., and Oldenberg's *RVNoten* ad loc.). In TB. the whole passage is made a direct address to Agni—a much easier reading.
- śarma varūtham āsadat suah* (TS. *āsadaḥ suvaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS. the verb is assimilated to the person of the 2d half-verse, where Agni is directly address in all. Tho more consistent, it is doubtless secondary.
- jayanta upasprīkātu* HG.: *jayantopa sprīa* ApMB. Only HG. is consistent with parallel formulas in the context, which even in ApMB, are 3d person.
- upasadyo namasyo yathāsat* (AV. *bhavaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. Subject is a king, equated with Indra; in 1st half verse all texts refer to him in 3d person; here AV. changes to direct address (AV. 3. 4. 1 has the same pāda in a different context.)
- anu* (AV. **prati*) *dyāvōprthivī ā tatantha* (AV. **vireṣa*, AV. *TS. *TB. *tātāna*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Occurs in two different verses; one (A) is address to Soma, with verbs in 2d person; the other (B) refers to Agni, with verbs in 3d person. Only A occurs in RV., only B in AV. TB.; both occur in VS. TS. MS. KS., but VS. MS. KS. read in B the 2d person form taken from, and appropriate to, A, while only TS. keeps the distinct forms appropriate to each.
- andhena yat* (TA. *yā*) *tamaśā prdevṛtāsīt* (TA. **āsi*) AV. TA. The subject (acc. to both comms. a cow, but see Whitney's note on AV. 18. 3. 3) is referred to in the 1st half verse in 3d person in both texts.
- āṣṭa* (MS. KS. *āṣṭhāḥ*) *pratiṣṭhām avidad dhi* (MS. *avido hi*, KS. *avido nu*) *gādham* TS. MS. KS. PG. So the Conc. The subject, Viśvavedas, is referred to in the prec. pāda in the 3d person in TS. KS. (while in MS. he is directly address). If, as we believe, the Conc. presents the true text of KS., it alone of the texts is inconsistent with its surroundings. The matter is, however, not certain. The single ms. of KS. is quoted as reading *āṣṭhāḥ* and *avide*, which seem most likely to represent *āṣṭhāḥ* and *avido*; but von Schroeder (doubtless for the sake of consistency with the context) emends, overboldly as it seems, to *āṣṭa* and *avidan*.
- gaṇān me nā vi tīṛṣaḥ* (MŚ. **gat*) TS. MŚ. 'Do not (let him not) make my troops thirsty.' Only the 2d person is proper, referring to Indra,

to whom the whole verse is address. Knauer on MŚ. 2. 4. 1. 35b defends °ṣat of all his mss. by supposing it to refer to Vāyu, understood. In the same context: *gaṇān me mā vy arīṣaḥ* Vait. In different contexts: *gaṇā me mā vi tṛṣṇa* VS. TB. ŚB.; *gaṇair mā mā vi tṛṣṇata* MS. 'Let not my troops be thirsty' or 'make me not thirsty with my troops'; shift between causative and simple verbs, with consequent inversion of subject and object.

abhi no vīro arati kṣameta RV. TB.: *trām no vīro arati kṣamethāḥ* AB. In a repetition of the RV. stanza, in which the subject (Rudra) is address with 2d person verbs in the preceding pādas, AB. makes this pāda consistent with them.

ā yantu pīlaro manojaśasah ApŚ.: *eta pīlaro manojarāḥ*, and: *āganta pīlaro manojarāḥ* MŚ. (in same sūtra): *paretana* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *pareta*) *pīlaraḥ somyāśah* (TS. ApŚ. *somyāḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. (in different context from the above in ApŚ., but in the same context, separated by one sūtra, from *eta* etc. in MŚ.; in the next sūtra but one MŚ. has a 3d person reference to the same subject, *kundhantām pīlaraḥ*, thus shifting from 2d to 3d person).

ṛtūn (TB. *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj jāyate punaḥ* (AV. *jāyase navaḥ*) RV. AV. MS. TB. Preceded by the correlate: *vīśāṇyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe* (so AV., the others similarly). Said of the sun and moon respectively. The change to direct address in AV. is harsh and is pretty surely a mere corruption; the comm. reads *jāyate*.

tena mā saha kumbhata (AV. *kumbhantu*) RV. AV. The waters seem to be addressed in RV.; they are referred to in 3d person in the preceding. The AV. reading is uncertain; SPP. adopts *kumbhatu*, and so Whitney's Translation; see §360.

divo jyote (and, *jyotir*) *vīrasva āditya...śśuvadhvam* KS.: *devajūte vīrasvann āditya...śśuvadhvam* MS.: *vīrasvān aditir devajūtis...* *vīyantu* TS. Two parallel pādas preceding have *vīyantu* with nom. subject in MS. KS. also.

yo devānām carasi prāṇathena VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *devānām yaś carati prā°* TS. Here, paradoxically, it is the 2d person of most texts which is inconsistent with the 2d (not 3d) person verb of the preceding line; for the subjects of the two must be different, being masc. and fem. respectively. Doubtless this is the reason for TS's change to 3d person here, and for its further change in the next pāda (*devī* for *deva*), which makes the entire stanza address to the feminine entity mentioned in the first half. TS. is, of course, secondary.

yasmād bhīta udavāsiṣṭa (and, *udavēpiṣṭa*) MŚ.: *yasmād bhīṣāvāsiṣṭhāḥ*

(and, *bhāṣārepiṣṭhāḥ*) TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Surrounding and parallel formulas (address to the animal victim) are 2d person even in MS.

āsvināḥ cha gachātām (TS. TB. ^o*tām*) RV. TS. TB. N. *dāvinār* is voc. in TS. TB., *āsvināḥ* nom. in RV. The same pāda with ^o*tām* (and *dāvināḥ*) in RV. and other texts, in a direct address to the Aśvins, who are here (in RV.) referred to in the 3d person, the stanza being address to a priest (the *adhvaryu* according to comm. on RV., the *hotar* according to that on TB.). The preceding pāda in TB. as well as RV. is: *prātaryujā (= āsvināu) vi bodhaya*. TS. changes this to ^o*yajau vi mucyethām*, making it also a direct address to the Aśvins. TB. is inconsistent in that the first pāda is address to a priest and refers to the Aśvins in 3d person, while the second addresses them directly. TS. by its further change in the first pāda restores consistency. No doubt the 2d person form of the second pāda is due to influence of the other form of the variant with *gachātām*, in a different stanza in RV.

īyatī agra āsīt (KS. TA. ApŚ. *āsīḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MS. In two different stanzas (used in similar connexions), one in KS. ApŚ., the other in the remaining texts. The KS. ApŚ. stanza is consistently in the 2d person, according to ApŚ. address partly to a lump of earth, partly to pebbles. The other stanza likewise refers to a lump of earth, which is address directly in the next pāda in MS. at any rate (with vocative *devī*), and according to Mahīdhara also in VS.; M. thus interprets the pronoun *te*, as referring to the earth; with *āsīt* Mahīdhara supplies *bhavañ*, taking the whole as direct address. There is, then, inconsistency between the two pādas in VS. MS. In TA., which has the same context as VS. MS., this inconsistency is removed by changing *āsīt* into a 2d person.

īṣaṁ tokāya no dadhat (KS. *dadhaḥ*) RV. SV. KS., and AVPpp. in its version of AV. 7. 20. 2, see Whitney's note on this. The RV. SV. passage is not pertinent since *dadhat* is a participle; the context is different. But both KS. and AVPpp. have finite verb forms; the stanza in them is otherwise a direct address, and AVPpp. is therefore inconsistent. In both the next pāda reads:

pra ṇa (MS. *na*) *āyūṅṣi tārīṣaḥ* (AVPpp. MS. KS. mss. ^o*ṣat*) AVPpp. VS. TS. KS. ŚŚ. N. See preceding. (In all but AVPpp. KS. MS. the preceding pāda is different.) This pāda, with *tārīṣat*, is found repeatedly in other contexts (see Cone.), in most of which the 3d person is appropriate. Doubtless the reading with *tārīṣat* here

(and probably in AV. 4. 10. 6e, where a 2d person also seems required) is due to contamination with that form of the phrase.

rdhag ayā (TS. MS. KS. *ayād*) *rdhag utāsamisṭhāh* (MS. KS. **śamisṭa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *dhrutam ayā dhrutam utāsamisṭhāh* RV.: *dhrutam ayo dhrutam utā śamisṭha* AV. The forms *ayā(s)* and *ayād* are both 2d persons; but because the latter looks more like a 3d person, MS. KS. secondarily make the following verb 3d person, despite direct address in the preceding and following pādas. On the corrupt version of AV. see Whitney on 7. 97. 1.

citrebhīr abhraiṛ upa tiṣṭhatho (MS. **to*) *ravam* RV.† MS. Followed by: *idyān varṣayatho* (MS. **to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV. MS. The preceding pādas speak of the subject (*mītrācaruṇau*) in the 3d person; hence the change to 3d person in MS., which makes the syntax smoother. Nevertheless MS. p.p. reads *varṣayathaḥ*.

dhartā divo rajaso vibhāti dhartā (TA. *divo vibhāsi rajasaḥ*; VS. ŚB. *divo vibhāti tapasas prthivyām*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. The context has a parallel verb *yacha*.

dhruvaidhī poṣyā (PG. **ye*) *mayi* RVKh. ŚG. PG. ApMB.: *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV. The AV. is inconsistent, for the woman referred to by *iyam* is addressed in 2d person in the rest of the stanza.

arēḍatā (*ahe**, see §160) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ. *gamyaḍ*) MS. KS. ApŚ. Parallel verbs are 3d person in all.

janisṭa (TS. **śvā*, MS. **śva*) *hi janyo agre ahnām* RV. TS. MS. KS. The subject is Agni, referred to in 3d person by all in the sequel.

pratiṣṭhām gacha (GB. *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB. **yet*) AB. GB. Direct address in the preceding in both. Gaastra considers GB. corrupt.

marya iva yuvatiḥṣiḥ sam arṣati (AV. *iva yoṣṭh sam arṣase*) RV. SV. AV.

Parallel verbs in the preceding are 3d person in all.

namo viśvakarmanṣa sa u pātv asmān TS. MŚ.: *viśvakarman namas te pātv asmān* AV. Preceding parallel is 3d person in AV.

muñcatu (KS. *muñcemah*) *yajñam* (ApŚ. *yajño*; KS. adds *muñca*) *yajñapatim anhasaḥ svāhā* MS. KS. ApŚ. 3d person forms are used in parallel formulas in KS.

meza iva eāi sam ca vi cora acyase AV.: *meza iva yad upa ca vi ca curvati* (ApŚ. erroneously, *carvati*) KS. ApŚ. 3d person forms in the rest of AV.; but the stanza is very obscure.

vaptā (ApMB. *vaptrā*; HG. MG. *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG. **tī*) *keśāśmaṣru* (AG. PG. MG. *keśān*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The fourth pāda has 2d person verb in all; the 3d person of PG. is evidently due

to the nom. *vaptā*, felt as subject, tho in the original form (AV.) it is merely appositional to the subject. Note that HG. MG. also feel this as inconsistent, and try to smooth out the syntax by the converse change of *vaptā* to voc. *vaptar*; while ApMB. has an instrumental *vaptā*.

sañ gachatām (RV.* *gachasva*) *tanvā* (TA. *tanuvā*) *svarcāh* (RV.* TA. *jātavedah*) RV. (bis) AV. (bis) TA. In AV. 18. 3. 58 is repeated RV. 10. 14. 8, with change in this pāda of *gachasva* to *gachatām*, which is inconsistent with the rest of the stanza in which the dead man is directly address. The change is obviously due to the influence of the very similar pāda RV. 10. 16. 5d = AV. 18. 2. 10d (this also in TA.), which has, consistently, *gachatām*. Note that conversely AV. substitutes *svarcāh* of 18. 3. 58d = RV. 10. 14. 8d for *jātavedah* of RV. 10. 16. 5d, thus making the two pādas exactly alike.

sañ (ApMB. *śaṃ*) *ūdho romaśaṃ hatah* (ApMB *hathah*) RV. ApMB. See Winternitz, p. xx of ApMB. Introduction; *hathah* is senseless. *sarvañ tad asmān mā hīṣīh* (HG. *hīṣīt*) ApŚ. HG. Parallel verbs are 3d person; there is no doubt of the inferiority of ApŚ., which Caland translates by a 3d person.

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmrāṣyañ gacha* (VSK. *gachatāt*; MŚ. *gachel*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. The subject is Soma, who is address directly in the preceding formulas.

trīñ samudrāñ samasrpat svargāñ (MS. °*gaḥ*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *sāmsarpa* (KS. °*pan*) *trīñ samudrāñ margāñ* (ApŚ. *svargātāñ lokāñ*) KS. ApŚ. The subject is address in 2d person (*gacha*) in the last part of the stanza in all, and ApŚ., secondarily no doubt, makes *sāmsarpa* consistent with this. Mahidhara on VS. understands even *samasrpat* as direct address (*he kūrma yo bhavān . . . samasrpat*), but the only express subject is nom. in all (*apām patir vṛṣabha iṣṭakānām*).

vīśvā īdeva pṛtanā abhiṣya TB. ApŚ. HG.: *vīśvāś ca deva* (PG. *devah*) *pṛtanā abhiṣyāh* (PG.† °*gyak*) KS. PG. 'O god (let the god) annihilate all the hosts.' *abhiṣyak* for *abhiṣyat*, 3d sing. injunctive; see Stenzler's Critical Note on PG. 3. 1. 3b. The 'god' is Agni, who is address directly in the preceding pāda even in PG. (*sviṣṭam agne abhi tat pṛṇthi*).

§338. (d) We come next to a group of variants in which the change of person is due to a change of subject, while the general context remains essentially the same. Thus:

tīro mā santam āgaur mā pra hāsīt (AŚ. *santam mā pra hāsīh*) TB. AŚ.

ApŚ.: *tīro me yajña āyur mā pra hāsīh* (one ms. *hāsīt*) MS.† The subject of the 2d person forms is Agni, who is address in the prec.; that of the 3d persons is *āyuh*.

kāman (AV. PB. *kāmaḥ*, KS. *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV. *viśēṣa*; KS. PB. *viśat*) AV. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. 'Desire has entered the ocean' or the like; 'enter thou the ocean (of) desire' (TA. comm.: *he dakṣiṇe samudrasamam kāman pravīṣa*).

ūrdhvo adhvāro asthāt etc., see §337.

ahar no atyapīparat MahānU. SMB.: *ahar mātīyapīparaḥ* AV. 'The day has brought us across': 'thou (sun) hast brought me across the day.'

pra yaṁ rāye nīnīṣasi RV.: *pra yo rāye nīnīṣatī* N. 'Whom thou (Agni) wilt lead to wealth': 'who will lead (thee, Agni) to wealth.'

mā hīnīṣaḥ puruṣaṁ jagat VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚvetU.: *mā hīnīṣit puruṣān mama* NīlarU. The entire verse is address to Rudra, who is the grammatical subject of this verb except in NīlarU., where the subject is his weapon.

rañṣam ud iva vidhyatī (HG. ²*et*) HG. ApMB. Prec. by: *yat ta etan mukhe* 'matam' (HG. *matam*). 'If thou shootest up this thought in thy face': 'if this had thought... shoots up...'

devi vā yat te vāco... tasmin mā dhāh (KB. ŚŚ. *no adya dhāt*) TS. KB. GB. PB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. The subject in KB. ŚŚ. is Vācaspati, mentioned in the prec.

vācaspatē 'chidraya vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāyrdham (ŚŚ. erroneously, *devā yrdhan*) *hotrām airayat* (KŚ. *airayantī*, TA. *erayusa*, ŚŚ. *airayusa*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ. omits) ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. KŚ. The passage is troublesome; see Eggeling's note in *SBE*. 44. 122. Śāyana interprets *airayat* as equivalent to a 2d person, and refers the whole passage to Vācaspati; if he is right, this variant would belong with those listed in §332. But Eggeling translates *airayat* as a 3d person, referring, apparently, to the *yajamāna*; the formula is used under certain conditions at his consecration (*dākṣā*); and this seems likely to be correct. The 2d person form of the variant is, of course, address to Vācaspati.

yo devayānaḥ panthās tena yajño devān apy etu (KS. *tena devān gacha*) TS. KS. Subject in KS. is *ida*.

āyur dātra edhī VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *mayo dātre bhūyāt* MS.: *vayo dātre* (VSK. *dātra edhī*; KS. PB. *dātre bhūyān*) *mayo mahyam* (TB. TA. ApŚ. *mahyam astu*) *pratigrahītre* VSK. KS. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. 'Be thou (potency address) life (or the like) to the giver' etc., or, 'may there

be strength (or the like) to the giver' etc. The meaning, of course, is virtually the same. Cf. next.

śāntir na astu MS.: *śāntir me astu śāntiḥ* TA.: *śā mā śāntir edhī* VS. Mahidhara on VS.: *mā, mān prati, edhī, astu, puruṣaṃpatyayaḥ* (text by error, °*vyatyamaḥ*). But this is, of course, a pedantic and unnecessary assumption; the 2d person is of the same sort as in the preceding variant.

dyaur naḥ pitā pīṛyāc (TA. *pīṛyāc*) *cham bhavāti* (TA. °*si*) AV. TA. In AV, the subject is *dyaur*; in TA, the comm. takes it as the *yajamāna*, no doubt correctly; but the entire stanza is obscure.

viśvazmai bhūtāyādhearo °*si* (ApŚ. °*ro astu devāḥ*, KS. MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruvo astu devāḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The subject in TS. is Soma, in the others *yajña*; all refer to *yajña* in the 3d person in the preceding.

sūryaḥ (TA. adds *te*) *cakṣur gachatu* (AV. *cakṣuḥ gacha*) °*ātam ātma* (AV. *ātmanā*) RV. AV. TA. 'Let thy eye go (or, go with thy eye) to the sun' etc. In the following pādas the dead man is addressed with *gacha* in all; AV. makes this pāda consistent with them; but the others are not syntactically inconsistent, since *cakṣuḥ* is the grammatical subject in them.

sūryasya raśmīn anu ātatāna (MŚ. *ātatantha*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *yad agne pūrvam probhṣtam* (*prahitam, nihitam*) *padam hī te*. In MŚ. the subject is Agni; in the others, his *padam*.

viṣṭakṛd indrāya devabhya bhara MS. KS. ApŚ.: *viṣṭakṛd devabhya indra ājgena haviṣā bhūt mātā* VS. ŚB. The subject in most texts is Agni; in VS. ŚB. it is (obviously secondarily) changed to Indra.

samyag āyur yajño (MŚ.† *yajnam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ. *dhāt*) KS. MŚ. See §158.

yat te krūram . . . tat te budhyatu (TS. ApŚ. *tat ta etena śundhatām*; MS. *tad etena śundhasva*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'Let that of thee become pure (by this)', or, 'as to that become thou pure by this.'

§339. We think it unnecessary to list here cases in which the change of person accompanies, and is conditioned by, a shift of voice, as between active and middle or passive; such a shift naturally involves very often a change of person, and the instances can easily be found from the lists in §§30, 83 ff.; to these should be added the variant: *tās te devā (devyo) jarase* (°*śā*) *sam vyayantu* (*vyayasa*), §70.

§340. For cases of this sort in which there is a change of number as well as person, see §365; and for a couple of cases in which a 2d person singular of direct address varies with an indefinite 3d plural, see §360.

§341. (e) We come now to cases in which the 2d and 3d persons appear in different contexts, with different subjects, each appropriate and consistent. We may begin with a pāda which occurs in the RV. itself in no less than four different verses:

asmākam edhy avitā rathānām (AV. *tanūnām*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.

MS. KS.: *asmākam bodhy av° ra°* RV.: *as° bodhy av° tanūnām* RV. MS. TB. TA. MahānU.: *as° bhūtv av° lo°* RV. AV. TA. The last, with its anomalous form *bhātu*, is obviously a secondary adaptation to a new context with change of person.

adharo mad asau raddā vadhā ApMB.: *adharo vadāsan vadhā svāhā* HG.† (corrupt; read as ApMB., as Kirate and Oldenberg both assume): *adho vadādharo vada* HG. The last, which is the only genuine variant, is a conscious imitation of the other, with change of person to suit different context.

te devāso (TS. *devā*) *yajñam imam juṣadhvam* (AV. *juṣantām*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *te devāso havir idam juṣadhvam* AV. It is the last-quoted form of AV. which appears in the same context with the others; AV. 7. 28. 1, which reads *juṣantām*, is in a wholly different context.

trptā mā tarpayata (MG. *mām tarpayantu*) KS. MG. Contexts only vaguely similar.

antaś carasy (MS. °ty) *arṇave* AV. MS. Different contexts.

adhaspadam kṛṇutām (AV.* *kṛṇuṣva*; TS. *kṛṇute*) *yo prtanysvah* AV. (bis) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

bodhāt stomair vayo dadhat MS.: *bodhā stotre vayo dadhat* (ApŚ. *vayavr-dhah*) RV. SV. ApŚ. See §§24, 153. The contexts are different, and MS. is interpretable as it stands; but it has a v. i. *bodhā*.

mā nah prajān rīriṣo (TB. 3. 1. 1. 3 *rīriṣan*) *mota rīrān* RV. VS. ŚB. TB. (bis). TA. TAA. ApŚ. SMB. HG. MG. N. One case in TB. uses the pāda in a quite different context, found nowhere else; the person of the verb is consistent with its surroundings.

san me bhūyāh (Kauś. °yāt) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. Different contexts.

sameddhāram anhasa uruṣyāt (ŚŚ. *anhasah pāhi*) RV. ŚŚ.

yathāsthānam kalpantām (ApŚ. *kalpayadhvam*) ŚB. BrhU. ApŚ.: *yathāsthāma kalpayantām śhaiva* AV.: *yathāsthānam dhārayantām ihaira* ŚŚ. Hardly comparable. See §241.

āyur no dehi jivase ŚG.: cf. *āyus te* (AV. *āyur no*) *viśrato dadhat* AV. etc. Hardly comparable.

nyañā ullānām ane eti (and, *eti*) *bhūmim* RV. (both). Subjects Indra: Agni.

agnī rakṣāṁsi sedhati RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.:
apa ra^s sedhasi (PrāṇāgU. *cātayat*) AV. PrāṇāgU.

jeṣaḥ (and, *jeṣat*, *ajāiḥ*) *svarattir apah* RV. (all). Indra is the subject each time, but the contexts are different. See *RVRep.* 39. *ajāiḥ* is 2d person. The original is *jeṣaḥ*, RV. 1. 10. 8.

abhy arṣanti (and, *arṣati*) *sustutim* RV. (both): *abhy arṣata sustutim garyam ajim* RV. VS. KS. ApŚ. The addition in the latter indicates that it is secondary; but it is consistent with its context.

aśmā bhavatu naś (AV. *te*) *tanūḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.: *aśmera tvam sthira* (MG. ApMB.* *sthiro*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Cf. also *aśmā bhava paraśur bhava*; see Conc. The AV. context is related to that of the GS. texts, and Ppp. reads *aśmera tvam sthiro bhava*; the vulgate AV. has an interesting contamination with the fundamentally unrelated passage of RV. etc.

ā barhiḥ śīdatam sumat RV.: *śīdatām barhiḥ ā sumat* RV. Subjects Aśvins: Night and Dawn.

ado giribhyo adhi yat pradhāvati TB.: *ado yad avadhāvati* AV.: *amī ye ke sarasayakā avadhācati* HG. ApMB. (see Winternitz, Introduction, p. xxvi; he supposes that *avadhātata* is intended, while Kirste and Oldenberg assume *avadhāvanti* for HG.): *asau yo 'vasarpati* VS. TS. MS. KS. Four different contexts with different subjects.

imam yajñam mimikṣatām (TB. **tam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. LŚ. Quite different context in TB. ŚŚ. from the others; see §337.

juṣethām (and, **tām*) *yajñam iṣṭaye* RV. In three different contexts, two with direct address, one 3d person; different subjects each time.

punar no naṣtam ākr̥dhi (RV. AV. *ājatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MŚ.

yat vim āgaś cakṛmā tat eu mṛdatu (and, *mṛḍa*) RV. (both).

viśvam ā bhāsi (RV.* *bhātī*) *rocanam* (AV.* *rocana*) RV. (tris) AV. (bis) ArŚ. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. Subjects Uṣas, Sūrya, and Indra.

viśvā adhi kriyo dadhe RV.: ... *dhīta* RV. KS. TB.: ... *dhīṣe* RV.

viśve devāsa iha vīrayadhvam (AV. *mādayadhvam*; VS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. *mādayantām*) RV. AV. VS. TS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. ApMB.: *viśve devā iha mādayantām* (KS. *vīrayadhvam*) TS. KS. TB. Two different contexts, with appropriate persons of verbs in each.

sam sūryeṇa rocate RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA.: ... *rocate* RV. AV. Subjects Soma Pavamāna: Uṣas.

vi mucyantām veriyāh VS. ŚB.: *vi mucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA. ApŚ. *aghniyā*) *devayānāh* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Hardly variants of each other.

sa cakārārasaṁ viṣam AV.: *sā cakārthārasaṁ viṣam* AV.

śajātānām asad (AV. *aso*) *vāsi* AV. (both) VS. TS. MS. KS.

sadyo jajñāno havyo babhūtha (and, *babhāva*) RV. (both). Subjects Agni: Indra.

sa vīśā bhura ābhuraḥ RV. AV.: *sa vīśā bhura* (AV. *sa idam viśvam*) *abharat sa ābhavat* AV. TS. TB.

stṛyanti (RV.* *stṛyā*) *barhīr ānuṣak* RV. (both) SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. N.

viṣe viṣam aprkthāh (and, *aprāg api*) AV. (both).

madhu tād (AV. *me*) *madhulā karotu* (AV. *karaḥ*, RV. *cakdra*, MS. *kṛyotu*) RV. AV. MS. TA. ApŚ.

sa no varūny ā bhara (SV. *bharāt*) RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Different context in SV.

arisaṁ naḥ pituṁ kṛṇu (KS. *kṛdhi*; TB. ApŚ. *kurat*) VS. 2.20 (omitted in Conc.) TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. In the last two texts the context is different.

For other cases in which there is a change of number as well as person, see §371.

§342. (f) Finally, some instances which include either gross corruptions or errors of various kinds. Others, involving number as well as person, will be found below, §372.

īhaiva kṛemya edhi mā prahāsīr mām amum (ApŚ. *prahāsīn māmum*) *āmuyyāyanaṁ* (AŚ. *mā prahāsīr amum māmuyyāyanaṁ*) MS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The true reading of ApŚ. can hardly be anything but *prahāsīr*, as Caland assumes.

yatra-yatra jātavedaḥ sambabhūtha (TB. °bhūva; but Poona ed. text and comm. correctly °iha) TB. ApŚ.: *yatra-yatra vibhrto* (KS. *bibhrato*) *jātavedaḥ* AV. KS. See §262, f.

sañjñānāneṣu vai brūyāt AB.: *sañjñānāneṣu vai brūyāh* ŚŚ. Several mss. of ŚŚ. read *brūyāt*. But Aufrecht 387, conjectures *brūyāh* for AB., and this is approved by Keith, *HOS.* 25.307, who so translates. *mā tvā vṛkṣaḥ* (TA. *vṛkṣau*) *saṁ bādhiṣṭa* (TA. once °tām, once *bādhetām*) AV. TA. The form *bādhetām* can hardly be anything but a corruption for °tām; *vṛkṣau* is accented, and a 3d person is required; comm. *sambādhitam mā kurutām*. But perhaps this might be placed in §332.

ābrām (TB, † *ābhlām*) *cit kṛṇuthā supratikam* RV. AV. TB. Conc. quotes *kṛṇuyāt* for TB.; Bibl. Ind. ed. reads in fact *kṛṇuthāt*, but its comm. and Poona ed. text have the correct *kṛṇuthā*.
teṣāṃ yo ajyānim (PG. 'jya') *ajītim ā vahāt* (SMB. Conc. *ajījim āvahāt*, but Jørgensen as the others) TS. SMB. PG. BDh.
nivarto yo ny avīrtat (HG. *avīrdhāt*) ApMB. HG. The HG. form is corrupt; Oldenberg adopts *avīrtat*.
madhye poṣasya tṛṇpatāḥ (MG. *ṛṇyutām*) ŚG. MG.: *madhye poṣasā tṛṇhantām* AG. For *poṣasā* read *poṣasya* (Stenzler, Transl.)
yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA. *āya*; MS. *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS. TA. See §153. TA. is probably corrupt; MS. is still worse.
adharo mad asau vātāt svāhā ApMB.: *adharo vādāsau radā svāhā* HG. The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB., see §153.
barhi (*barkih*) *stṛṇīhi* (TS. MS. MŚ. ApŚ.* *stṛṇāhi*) TS. MS. GB. ŚB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The text of MS. reads *stṛṇāti*, presumably by misprint.
nir ā yachati madhyamie AV. ŚŚ. The vulgate of AV. reads *yachati*, by Roth's emendation.

B. VARIANTS CONCERNING NUMBER

§343. We have explained above (§§289-301, especially 301) the principles of classification adopted for the Number variants, and quoted examples of the principal types. We now proceed to give the lists in full, beginning with—

1. First Person Singular and Plural, referring to the priests and their associates

§344. In many—possibly even in most—of these (see §290) the first person plural is only formally plural, and actually refers to a single person, the speaker, alone. That is, we have a kind of 'editorial we'. It is not necessary to suppose that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is implied in such cases, tho one or the other may at times be suspected. We begin with a few cases where the 'editorial we' seems particularly clear; but in general we have made no attempt to sift out such instances from the general run of variants in which the priest says 'I' or 'we' in referring to himself and his associates. For it seems to us practically impossible to do so in the large majority of instances. This lies in the very nature of the case; there is as a rule nothing to show whether the priestly 'we' means the speaker alone, or includes others of his class.

But in the first three variants, at least, it seems clear that it means the single speaker:

idaṁ vatsyāmo bhoḥ AG.: *om ahaṁ vatsyāmi bhoḥ* ŚG.: *idaṁ vatsyāvaḥ* HG. In AG. ŚG. alike spoken by the brahman-pupil when about to leave his teacher on a journey. In HG. spoken by the teacher at the *upanayana*; the dual includes the boy.

brahmacāryam āgam (MG. *upemasi*; Kauś. text† *āgam*, misprint?) ŚB. Kauś. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG. Again spoken by the *brahmacārin*. The reason for MG's secondary reading is clearly metrical; MG. makes a verse of the passage which in the others is prose.

śataṁ ca jīvāmi (MG. *śataṁ jivema*) *śaradaḥ purūcī* PG. MG. In the same verse, spoken by the graduate brahman-pupil; MG. otherwise has 1st singular verbs. For other forms of the variant see Conc. and §103. The other texts which show plural verb (*jīvantu*) have a different context.

Once this 'editorial we' varies with a definite first-person dual:

pūṣāṁ bahūnāṁ mātara syāma (HG. *°rau syāva*) ApMB. MG. In a verse spoken by wife to husband; the dual includes the two spouses, while the plural is evidently 'editorial'.

§345. The remaining long list is as follows:

yad ahaṁ dhanena (AV. *yena dhanena*, HG. *yad vo devāḥ*) *prapaṇam* (ApMB. *°ṇaṁ*) *carāmi* (HG. *°ma*) AV. ApMB. HG.

vairūpe sāmān iha (MS. *adhi*; KS. *vairūpeya sāmā*) *lac chakeyam* (TS. *chakema*; MS. *taṁ śakeyam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Followed by: *jagatyainam* (AŚ. *°tyenam*) *vikṣo āveśayāmi* (AŚ. *°ni*; TS. *°mah*), same texts.

mā mā (TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *no*) *hāstā* (MŚ. *hāst*, AŚ. *hīnāś*) *nāthito* (TB. ApŚ. *metthito*, AŚ. *dhiāśito dadhāmi*, some mss. omit *dadhāmi*) *net* (AŚ. MŚ. *na*) *teḍ jahāmi* (AV. KS. *°ni*, TB. ApŚ. *°ma*) AV. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

idaṁ pitṛbhyah pra bhārāmi (TA. *bharema*) *barhiḥ* AV. TA. Followed by:

jīvaṁ devebhyo uttaram strīnāmi AV.: *devebhyo jīvanta uttaram bharema* TA. TA. spoils the meter.

yad dhaṣṭābhyāṁ cakara (AV. *cakṛma*) *kilbiṣṭāy* AV. MS. TB. TA.

yam āchāma (ApŚ. *īchāmi*) *manasā* so 'yam āgāt RV. ApŚ.

samānena (TB. *samjñānena*) *vo haviṣā juhomi* (TB. *yajāmāḥ*) RV. AV. MS. TB.

emaṁ panthāṁ arukṣāma AV.: *sugam panthānam ārukṣam* ApMB.

tena tvā pari dadhmaṣi (PG. *dadhāmy dyuṣe*) AV. PG. Different contexts, only vaguely parallel.

bhūpate bhuvanapate . . . tvā vṛṣṭiṃ mahe (MŚ. *vṛṣṭe*) TB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *pragūyāmy agrataḥ* PG. ApMB.: *pragūyāmy asyāgrataḥ* MG. Note the metathesis of the syllable *syā*!

abadhigma rakṣo . . . VS. VSK. ŚB.: *idam ahaṃ rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *avadhiṣma rakṣaḥ* TS. MS. KŚ. TB. ApŚ. Hardly true variants.

apaśyam yuvatiṃ nīyamānām AV.: *apaśyāma yu° dcarantīm* TA.

achīdraḥ prajayā bhūyāsam ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: cf. *ariṣṭā asmākaṃ vīrāḥ* (santu), *ariṣṭāḥ tanvo bhūyāma*, etc., see Cone. Hardly true variants.

taśya doham aśimahi (KŚ. *aśiya*; AŚ. *aśiya te*) VS. MS. KŚ. TB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

tām adya gāthām pāsyāmi (MG. °*maḥ*) PG. MG.

te yam dviṣmo yaś ca no dveṣti tam eṣāmi (TS. ApMB. °*vo*) *jambhe dadhmaḥ* (TS. KŚ. ApMB. °*dadhāmi*) VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. ApMB. (both).

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ. *yaje hi*) TS. MŚ. But most mss. of MŚ. read *yajeha* (*yaja iha*), which would make *yaja* a 2d person addressee to Agni like *anu manyasva*.

asmīn sahasraṃ puṣyāsam (Kauś. *puṣyāma*) ŚB. BṛhU. Kauś.

ugraṃ sahodām iha tam huema (MS. *huve*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KŚ. TB. ŚB. Bad meter in MS.

ud asthām amṛtān anu VSK. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ApMB.: *ud asthāmāmṛtā vayam* (HG. *abhūma*) AV. HG.

gātrānām te gātrabhājo bhūyāma (KŚ. °*bhāg bhūyāsam*) TS. KŚ. Prose.

prchāmi (LŚ. °*mas*) *tvā param antam prthivyaḥ*,

prchāmi (LŚ. °*mo*) *yatra* (TS. KŚA. TB. *tvā*, AV. *vīśvanya*) *bhuvanasya nābhiḥ* (AV. TS. KŚA. TB. °*im*),

prchāmi (LŚ. °*mas*) *tvā* (AV. omits) *vṛṣṇo akvasya retaḥ*,

prchāmi (LŚ. °*mo*) *vācaḥ paramaṃ vyomaḥ*; RV. AV. VS. TS. KŚA. TB. LŚ., and the first pāda in ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.

brahman prasthūsyāmaḥ (GB. ŚB. KŚ. ŚŚ. °*mi*) TS. KB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

brahman opah prañeṣyāmi AŚ. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *brahman prañeṣyāmaḥ* KB.

yasmai ca tvā khaṇāmy aham (Kauś. *khaṇāmasi*) VS. Kauś.: *yasmai cāham khaṇāmi vaḥ* RV. VS. TS.

vācaḥ satyam aśimahi (VS. ŚB. *aśiya*) RVKh. VS. ŚB. TB. Bad meter in VS. ŚB.

vaiśvānarāya prati vedayāmaḥ (AV. °mi) AV. TA. BDh.

agnīm indraṁ (TB. *agnī indrā*) *vṛtrahayā huve 'ham* (TB. *vām*; MS. °*hayan* *huvema*) AV. MS. TB.

etam yuvānaṁ patiṁ (TS. *pari*) *vo dadāmi* TS. ŚG. PG. VIDh.: *etam vo yuvānaṁ prati dadhmo atra* AV.

sugā (TS. ApŚ. *svagā*) *vo devāḥ sadanā* (TS. N. °*nam*) *akarma* (MS. *kṛyomi*; KŚ. Kauś. ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. ApŚ. N.: *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS.

jitā (TB. ApŚ. *jitā*) *jīvanīr upa vaḥ sadema* (TB. ApŚ. *sadeyam*) AV. KS. TB. MŚ. ApŚ.

taṁ (RV. omits) *sarazvantam arase huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*; RV. KS. *johavimī*) RV. RVKh. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

bṛhaspatīṁ vaḥ . . . *havāmahe* GB. Vait.: *bṛhaspatīṁ rikvān devāṁ ahaṁ huve* RV. It is doubtful whether these are really related.

maruḍāṁ pitar tad ahaṁ grṇāmi (MŚ. *grṇe te*; KS. *pitar uta tad grṇāmaḥ*) TS. MS. KS.

mā (VS. ŚB. add *vayam*) *rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yausma* VS. MS. ŚB.: *māhaṁ rā° vi yoṣam* TS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

mitrasya (MS. adds *raś*) *cakṣuṣā samikṣāmahe* VS. MS.: cf. *mitrasyāhaṁ cakṣuṣā* . . . *samikṣe*, etc., see Conc. and §303.

rudraṇya sūnuḥ havasā grṇāmasi (and, *vidāse*) RV. (both). The change is metrical; triṣṭubh and jagati verses.

vājasyedam (AV. VS. ŚB. *vājasya nu*) *prasava ābakhūva* (AV. °*re saṁ* *babhūvima*) AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

viśvāir viśvāṅgaṁ saha saṁ bhavema (MŚ. *bhavāmi*) AV. MŚ.

saṁ jyotiṣābhūma (TS. °*bhūcam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *saṁ sūryasya jyotiṣāyanma* AV. In most texts, but not in TS, juxtaposed with formulas containing 1st plural expressions.

tasmin pāsān pratimuñcāma etān MS. KS.: *yaṁ dvīṣmas tasmin prati-muñcāmi pāsān* TS. ApŚ.

suprajāḥ prajāyā (*prajābhīḥ*) *bhūyāsam* (*syām*; *syāma*; *bhūyāse*) . . . See Conc.; an intricate tangle of formulas; it is doubtful to what extent they are true variants of each other. The plur. *syāma* only in VS. ŚB., which elsewhere have the sing. form too; VSK. has sing. in the passage corresponding to the plur. of VS.

yaṁ tvā somenāstūrpaṁ (TS. °*pam*; MŚ. °*pan*) VS. TS. ŚB. MŚ.

ena enasyo 'karam (TB. °*karat*) AV. TB. (see §315): *enānei* (TS. KS. °*enā*) *enāḥ* (TB. °*enāḥ*) *cakrmā vayam* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. °*enā* TB. °*enā* And others, see Conc. In adjoining stanzas of AV.

huvema vājasṭaye RV. SV. MS. KS.: *huvēya vā°* RV. AV. Cf. *havante vā°*, §316.

anu tvendrārabhāmahe AV.: *anu tvā rabhe* AV. etc. (see Conc.). The latter is prose; the former is made metrical.

ava (RV. *abhi*; MS. *ā vah*; VS. ŚB. *vācā*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV. *nīkāmasi*; VS. ŚB. *ava nayāmi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

āganta pīlaraḥ pītṛmān ahaṁ yuṣmābhir bhūyāsam . . . TS.: *āganta pīlaraḥ . . . supīlaraḥ vayasā yuṣmābhir bhūyāsmā* MŚ.

tāni te pari dadmozi AV.: *tān* (ApŚ.* *tāns*) *te paridadāmy aham* (TA. omits *aham*) TA. ApŚ. In different contexts.

tebhīś chidram api dadhmo yad atra MŚ. AŚ.: *teṣāṁ chidram prati dadhmo yad atra* KS.: *teṣāṁ chinnaṁ sam etad* (ŚŚ. *sam imān*; TS. *praty etad*) *dadhāmi* VS. TS. ŚŚ.

devasyāham (VSK. MS. KS. MŚ. *devasya vayasā*) *savituh prasave* (*save*) . . . *jeṣam* (VSK. MS. KS. MŚ. *jeṣma*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

devasyāham (VSK. *devasya vayasā*) *savituh save* . . . *aruham* (VSK. *aruhāma* . . .) VS. VSK. ŚB. Other texts have *ruhegam*; see §133.

vājinaṁ teḍ vājino 'vanayāmah (MS. *vājiny avanayāmi*) MS. TA. ApŚ.

teṣṭ (ŚG. *angeṣṭ*) *ahaṁ sumanāḥ saṁ viśāmi* (AŚ. °*nī*; MG. *vasāma*; ŚG. *viṣeyam*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB. MG. See §104, c.

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ. corruptly, *syāmi asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu* AV. KS. ApŚ. The ApŚ. reading is worthless.

jagṛhma (RV. °*bhma*, TB. °*bhyaḍ*) *te dakṣiṇam indra hastam* RV. SV. MS. TB. The TB. form may be felt as 1st person sing. (subj.), but see Ludwig on RV. 10, 47, 1.

[*agne vṛatapate vṛatam acāriṣam*; for this Conc. quotes KS. as *acāriṣma*, by error.]

§346. In the following, one form or the other is more or less at variance with the context. This does not necessarily mean that the consistent form is more original:

śivam prajābhyo 'hīnsantam . . . *agnim* . . . *khanāmah* (TS. KS. °*mī*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. A parallel formula just before this has *khanāmi* in all texts.

idam śreyo (AV. *idam uc chreyo*) *'vasānam āgām* (ApMB. *āganma devāḥ*; ApŚ. °*nam yad āgām*) AV. ApŚ. ApMB. Even in ApMB. (tho it has a different context) first-singular verbs occur in the preceding line of the stanza.

yac cāham eno vidvāṁś cakāra . . . VS. ŚŚ.: *yac cāham eno vidvāṁśaś* . . . *cakṛma* . . . MahānU. The latter is obviously and flagrantly inconsistent with its context. The comm. lamely supplies a separate verb, *akārṣam*, with *aham*.

indrasya manmahe śaśvad id asya manmahe AV.; *indrasya manve prathamasya pracetasah* TS. MS. KS. In the following pāda all have the sing. pronoun 'me'.

taṁ tvā juṣāmahe . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *taṁ tvā juṣe* . . TS. ApŚ. The preceding and parallel formula is 1st sing. in all; presumably TS. has secondarily changed this to be consistent with it.

anhomuce pra bhareṃā (AV. *bhare*) *manṣām* AV. TS. MS. KS. Hap-logy naturally suggests itself to us, as it did to Lanman ap. Whitney on AV. 19. 42. 3; the meter, and the Ppp. reading *bhareṃā*, seem to confirm the suggestion. Yet the curious fact is to be noted that at the end of the next pāda MS. has the singular participle *āvśānah* as in AV. (while yet reading *bhareṃā*!); TS. KS. consistently show plural participles.

śarman (MS. **maṇa*) *te syāma* (VS. *tava syāma śarmaṇs*; TS. *tava syāṁ śarman*) *trivarūṭha udbhau* (TS. *udbhī*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. Note that VS. is hypermetric; TS., with the same order and non-enclitic *tava* for *te*, corrects the meter with its *syām*; it is however clearly secondary; plural pronouns referring to 'us' occur in all texts in the preceding pāda.

adveṣe (MS. **ṣye*) *dyāḍāpṛthivī huteṃā* (MS. *hute*) RV. VS. MS. The MS. reading is not only bad metrically but inconsistent with the pronoun *asme* in the next pāda.

edho 'sy edhiṣṭamahi (AV. **ṣṭiya*) AV. VS. etc. etc. Not only in AV., but also in several texts showing plural verb, the same verse contains the phrase *tejo mayi dhehi*, with sing. pronoun.

sarvān agnīn (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vaḥ* (MS. *huve*; AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS. MS. AB. The AV. is inconsistent with *mayi* of the next pāda; but it probably has the original reading, 'corrected' in the others. We infer this from the bad meter of MS. and the fact that TS. AB. use the 'patch-word' *vaḥ* to correct the meter.

sutarmānam adhi nāvam ruhema (KS. *ruheyam*) RV. TS. MS. KS. The KS. reading is inconsistent with *tarema* of the preceding pāda. But to call it 'absurd' and 'a mere blunder' (Keith on TS. 1. 2. 2. 2) is an exaggeration. Keith would probably not have used such strong language if he had seen the evidence of the Variants as to the frequency of such things.

taṁ vaḥ supṛītaṁ subhṛītaṁ akarma (KS. *abhāṛyam*) TS. KS. In the next formula KS. also has *vaḥ*.

vāmī te saṁdṛśī vīkvaṁ reto dheṣṭiya (KS. *dhīṣṭiya*) MS. KS.: *vīkvasya te vīśāvalaḥ vṛṇṇīyāvalaḥ tarāgne vāmīr ana saṁdṛśī vīśā retāṇsi*

dhiṣṭya TS.: *vāmī nāma saṁdṛāi viśā vāmāni dhīmahi* JB. The last is inconsistent.

For a few similar variants between first plural and second singular, see §307, end.

2. *Second Person Singular and Plural, referring to the priests and their associates.*

§347. As we found above (§307, cf. §290) the 2d person varying with the first in reference to the *yajamāna* or priest, the participant in or beneficiary of the rite, so we have here a few cases of 2d person verbs, singular and plural, used variously in reference to such persons. But the instances are very rare compared to the corresponding ones in the first person.

taḍ anu preta sukṛtām u lokam VS. ŚB.: *taṁ anu prehi sukṛtasya lokam* TS. KS. Mahidhara says, *he ṛtvijaḥ*. In TS. KS. presumably the *yajamāna* is meant.

yamaṁ rājānaṁ haviṣā duvāsyā (TA. °*syata*; AV. *aparyata*) RV. AV. MS. TA. The priest here addresses either himself or an associate: Sāyana, *he madhyāntarātman yajamāna vā*. The plural of TA. AV. is a lect. fac.

ut srjata (SMB. GG. *srja*) *gdm* LŚ. SMB. GG.: *om utsrjata* (MG. °*tu*) TA. ŚŚ. AG. PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG. (But Jørgensen reads in SMB. with comm.—his text *mas*. omit the formula—*om ut srjata*!) The object (generally understood) is the cow at the Arghya rite. 'Let it loose!' is spoken by the recipient if he does not wish it killed. Address to the person(s) holding the cow, or the giver of it.—Some texts have in the same context various forms of the following variant (meaning 'do it!', i.e. 'kill the cow', if he wishes it killed). But the word occurs also in various other connexions:

om kuruta: kuru: kuruta: kuruṣva: kurudhvam. See Cone. Only in part belonging to related contexts and variants of one another; see under *prec*.

pāpmānaḥ me hata (Kauś. 'pa jahi) MG. Kauś.

abhi (AV. *pari*) *stryiḥi pari dhehi vedīm* AV. TB. ApŚ.: *paristṛṣṭa pari-dhattāgnim* TB. ApŚ.: *stryita barhiḥ pari dhatta vedīm* KS. MŚ. The second occurrence of TB. ApŚ. is in a different verse, but one modelled on the other and in the same vicinity. The comm. on AV. and also that on TB. (both times) regard *darbha*-grass (sing. or plur.) as address. But ApŚ. introduces the formula with *sahpreṣyati*, indicating that it is a command to an associate priest. The

ApŚ. comm. remarks that, since no other priest than the *adhvaryu* (who speaks here) 'strews', the *adhvaryu* addresses himself with this command! (cf. Sāyana on *yamaṁ rājānaṁ* etc. above). That priests, or at least a priest, and not *darbha*-grass, are addrest seems clear from the KS. MŚ. variant, where *barhiḥ* is the *object*. *agnīṅ jyotiṣmataḥ kuruta* (MŚ. *kuru*) ApŚ. MŚ. 'Light the fires!' Addrest to priest(s) or attendant(s), not clearly specified.

3. Subject pluralized or dualized, varying with the same subject in the singular

§348. We have referred (§206) to the variants in which a singular verb with singular subject is, as it were, multiplied to a dual or plural. They fall naturally into two groups. The first, with which we are here concerned, includes those in which the same subject, in the same or at least a very similar context, and without the inclusion of any different entity, is pluralized or dualized, the number of the verb changing with it. The second group (§§353 ff.), in which the dual or plural is formed by the inclusion of another entity or entities than the singular subject, will be treated in the next subdivision. Instances of the converse, that is substitution of a singular for plural in the like circumstances, are equally common and are included in the list which follows. We begin with cases of

§349. Singular and Plural.

vī parjanyaṁ (TS. °yāḥ) *srjanti* (MS. KS. *pra parjanyaḥ srjantām*) *rodasī anu* RV. TS. MS. KS. In RV. the subject is the Maruts; in the others, Parjanya, singular or plural. The RV. form in relation to the others belongs in §361 below, q.v.

agne grhapata upa mā hwayasea KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait.; cf. *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* ŚB. 'O Agni house-lord (or, O Fires), invite me.'

ārtavo 'dhipatīr āsīt TS.: *ārtavā adhipataya āsān* VS. ŚB.: *rtavo 'dhipataya āsān* MS. KS. 'The season(s, or the like) was (were) overlord(s).'

dviṣaṇ me bahu śocatu TB. ApŚ.: *dviṣantas tapyantām bahu* MŚ. In the preceding pāda all texts refer to a singular 'hater'.

upahūtopakvayasea; upahūtā upahvayadhvam MŚ. (both)

ekasapham asrjyata MS.: *ekasaphāḥ paśavo 'srjyanta* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

Here the singular is really a collective and means the same as the plural: 'one-hoofed (animals) were created.'

dhiṣaṇāś tvā devīr viśvadevyadvatīḥ (MS. MŚ. *dhiṣaṇā tvā devī viśvadevyadvatīḥ*)

vati) . . . *abhīndhatām* (MS. once *abhīnddhām*, once *abhīndhatām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. and (prattika) MŚ. Since a dual form cannot be construed, it seems that the form *abhīndhatām* (if not corrupt) is a bastard subjunctive-imperative blend, intended to be 3d singular (like *abhīnddhām*, the proper form).

manojavāḥ tvā pītṛbhir dakṣiṇataḥ pātu (KS. *pītarō*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *manojavāḥ vah pītṛbhir dakṣiṇata upa dadhatām* TA.: *pītaras tvā manojavā dakṣiṇataḥ pāntu* MS. In the same passage. The form *manojavāḥ* is plural in MS. KS., singular in the others.

kundhantām lokāḥ pītṛṣadanāḥ VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *kundhatām lokāḥ pītṛṣadanāḥ* TS. ApŚ. 'Let the world(s) where the fathers sit be purified.'

dūrēḥ rohanṭu puṣpiṇīḥ (AV. *rohātu puṣpiṇī*) RV. AV. 'Let flowering dūreḥ-plant(s) grow.' Some mss. of AV., followed by comm. and SPP., read as RV., and Whitney reports Ppp. likewise.

miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV.: *māh no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV.

īndraghoṣas (KS. °ḡās) *tvā vasubhīḥ* (KS. † *vasavaḥ*) *purastāt pātu* (KS. *pāntu*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

mā te riṣann upasattāro agne AV.: *mā ca riṣad upasattā te agne* VS. TS. MS. KS.

imam pajñam avatu yā (AŚ. *no*) *ghṛtācī* (TS. *avantu no ghṛtācīḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Subject is the *śaktari*-verse(s), singular or (TS.) plural.

tunam kṛnāśā abhi (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS. *kṛnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaiḥ* (AV. TS. *vāhān*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vāk palango āśīkriyat (KS. °ḡā *āśīkrayuḥ*) AV. KS. The same pāda is read: *vāk palangāya dhīyate* (TS. *śīkriye*, MS. *hīyate*), with middle or passive verb and different subject, in RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.

anarahāyāsmān (KS. adds *devī dakṣiṇe*) *devayānena pathā* (TS. *patheta*, KS. *pathā yati*) *sukṛtām loke śidata* (KS. *śida*) TS. MS. KS. Plural in TS. MS. because the *dakṣiṇās* there addrest are plural; in KS. they are considered collectively, or (better) as a personified abstraction, and hence singular. In the same context, and due to the same circumstances:

asmadrātā (TS. *asmaddātrā*; MS. ŚŚ. add *madhumatīr*, KS. *madhumatī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS. *gacha*; TS. adds *madhumatīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. And:

pradātāram ā riṣata (KS. *viśa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

Quite similar to the preceding three variants is the group of the next three; all in the same passage in the YV. *Śamhitās*:

raudreyānīkena pāhi māgne (VS. *pāta māgnayaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.:

Followed by:

pipṛhi mā (KS. *magne*) TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.: *pipṛta māgnayaḥ* (PB. ŚŚ. *mā*) VS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. And:—

mā mā hiṁsiḥ (*hiṁsiṣṭa*), see Conc. (This last occurs very frequently, and in other connexions.) In these three cases either various altars-fires are addressd, or Fire collectively; or the same personified, as Agni(s).

yad akudhah parājaghāna . . . KS.: *yad vo 'śuddhah parā jaghnur* (VSK. *'śuddhah parā jaghānaitad*) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. See §30.

pracetāś tvā rudraiḥ paśēd pātu VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *pracetā* (here felt as plural) *tvā rudraiḥ paśēd upa dadhatām* TA.: *rudrāś tvā pracetasah paśēd pātu* MS.

yat paśur māyum akṛta TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. GG.: *yad vaśā māyum akrata* Kauś. In Kauś. *vaśā(h)* is plural; all mss. *akrata*.

ye no dīṣanty anu tām rahhasva AV.: *yo no dīṣṣi tāmāḥ rahhasva* MŚ.: *yo no dīṣṣy anu tam ravasva* (read *rahhasva*?) ApŚ.

varūtrayo janāyas tvā . . . *pacantūkhe* TS.: *varūtrī* (and, *varu*?) *tvā* . . . *pacatām ukhe* MS.: *janāyas tvā* . . . *pacantūkhe* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

et śloka etu (AV. *eti*; TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sāreḥ* (AV. *sāriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sārāḥ*, KS.† *sārah*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir manyatām (KS. **putayo manyadhvam*, ŚB. **patir amāṣṭa*) . . . VS. TS. KS. GB. ŚB. (bis) Vait.

a me graho bhuvati (KSA. *grahā bhavante*) *a puroruk* TS. KSA.

abhy arṣati (and, *arṣanti*) *suṣṭutim*; *pavamānā abhy arṣanti suṣṭutim* RV. (all). Subject is Soma Pavamāna, sing. or plur.; see *RVRep.* 437.

aiṣa me bhagavo 'janīṣṭhā maitrāvaruṇah MS.: *aiṣa me bhagavanto 'janīdhvām maitrāvaruṇah* MŚ. And, in same passage, *ūrjā me bhagavaḥ saha janīṣṭhāḥ* (MŚ. *bhagavantah saha janīdhvam*) MS. MŚ.: *jñātrām me vinda* (MŚ. *vindata*); *samvīdam me vinda* (MŚ. *vindata*) MS. MŚ.: *puṇyā puṇyam* (and, **yām*) *asūt*, and: *citrā citram* (and, **rām*) *asūt* MS., *puṇyāḥ* (and, *citrāś*) *puṇyān* (C^{yā}, and *citrān*, *citrā*) *asutan* MŚ.

prathamam artim yuyotu naḥ MG.: *pra sa* (read *su*) *mṛtyuḥ yuyolana* HG.: *pra sumartyam* (ApMB. *su mṛtyuḥ*) *yuyolana* SMB. ApMB. Subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere.

tena brahmāṇo vapatedam asya (ŚG. *adya*) AV. TB. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB.: *tena brāhmaṇo vapatu* MG.: *tendeydyuṣe vapa* ApMB. See §330.

tenu yantu yajamānāḥ svasti MS.: *tenaitu yajamānāḥ svasti* (KS.* ApŚ. *svastyā*) TS. KS. ApŚ. The real motive for MS's change may have been metrical; the plural may be understood as one of respect; but for plurality and duality of *yajamānas* see in Conc. under *agnim adya hotāram* (*arṇātām*).

dyuṣmatyā (^o*tya*) *roo mā gāla* (Vait. *māpuyāyā*; Kauś. *mā satsi*)... TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Kauś. One or more priests are address. Caland on Vait. would read ^o*yāyata*, presumably because the surrounding parallel phrases are plural; but the sing. is supported by Kauś.

ud rathānām (AV. *ārānām*) *jayatām yantu ghoṣāḥ* (AV. TS. ^o*tām etu ghoṣāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. SV. TS.

upaitu mām devasakhaḥ RVKh. Rvidh.: *upa yantu mām devayajāḥ* MG. *niṣaṅgiṇa upa spr̥ṣata* HG.: *niṣaṅgiṇu upa spr̥ṣa* ApMB. Rudra is meant, and is referred to in the singular in other formulas in the context of HG.; we may understand the plural to refer to the Rudras, or Rudra's 'hosts'.

paratām āntarikṣyā RV. SV.: *paratām ā* ^oRV. And:

parante vāre avyāye RV. SV.: *parato v* ^o *a* ^o RV. The subject is soma, singular or plural. The plural occurrences are found in the midst of *tr̥cas* with singular soma referred to; see Bloomfield, *RV Rep.* 427.

atho (TS. MS. *athā*) *yāyan itha* (MS. KS. *twam asi*) *niṣkṛtāḥ* (TS. *san̥k* ^o, MS. *san̥kṛtāḥ*, KS. *niṣkṛtāḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Address to herbs, or (MS. KS.) to an herb; but the singular reading is inconsistent with the rest of the verse, both prec. and following pādas, where even MS. KS. have plur.

trāyatām marutām gaṇāḥ RV.: *trāyantām marutām gaṇāḥ* AV.

bhaga(s) itha bhagasya vo lapsīyu KS. ApŚ.: *bhago 'ei bh* ^o *la* ^o MŚ. Addressed to cakes, one of which is taken by each of the participants in the rite. Plur. thinks of the plurality of cakes; sing. thinks of each person addressing his own cake. 'Ye are (thou art) luck' etc.

idā (p.p. *idāḥ*; MS. *idāḥ*; KS. *idās*) *itha*... TS. MS. KS.: *ilāsi* ŚŚ.

§350. Singular, Dual, and Plural.

asū (*asāo*) *anu mā tanu* (LŚ. *tanuḥi jyotiṣā*) MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. And *vikāras* in MŚ.: *amū anu mā tanutam, amī anu mā tanuta*.

§351. Singular and Dual

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharatām (AŚ. *sambharatām*, MŚ. *sambharetām*) TB. ApŚ. AŚ. MŚ. See §330.

nīlaloḥitaṁ bhavati (ApMB. °*te bhavataḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB. The bridal garment, which is made dual (i.e. of two pieces) in ApMB., 'becomes blue-red.'

viśvakarmaṁ tanūpā asī ŚB., *viśvakarmāṇau tanūpau me sthaḥ* ŚŚ. Followed in both by a series of formulas address to two sacred fires; in ŚŚ. this formula is assimilated to them, *viśva*° being made an epithet of the fires.

viṣṇor manasā pūte sthaḥ (Kauś. also, *pūtam aṣi*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. (both). GG. KhG. Strainers are referred to; two are mentioned in Kauś. in the sūtra just preceding the one which has the singular form.

mā te vṛkṣaḥ (TA. *vṛkṣau*) *sam bādhiṣṭa* (TA. °*tām*, and *bādhothām*) AV. TA. (bis). The TA. refers to two pieces of wood.

so' dhvarā karati jāta-vedāḥ AB.: *kṛṇotu so adhvārāṇi* (VS. TB. °*ṛā*) *jāta-vedāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *kṛṇutām tē adhvārā jāta-vedasau* MŚ.

§352. Dual and Plural

ahorātrā (KS. TA. °*trāyī*) *te kalpantām* VS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *ahorātre te* (TB. *me*) *kalpetām* MS. TB. 'Days-and-nights' or 'day-and-night'. *rājānam saṁpāyala* (PG. °*gāpetām*) ŚG. PG. Subject, late-players, two in PG., more than two in ŚG., who are commanded to 'sing of the king'.

agner jiḥvām abhi (MS. *jiḥvābhi*, p.p. *jiḥvām*, *abhi*; AV. KS. *jihvayābhi*) *gr̥ṣitam* (AV. *gr̥ṣata*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The subject is certain 'divine *hotars*', plural in AV., dual in the others; according to Mahidhara on VS. they are Agni and Vāyu, acc. to Griffith on VS., Agni with Āditya or Varuṇa, or Agni celestial and terrestrial. The AV. comm. is missing; Griffith on AV. understands 'priests of the gods'; Ludwig omits the verse in his translation, and Weber omits the entire hymn.

sampṛca (°*aḥ*, °*as*) *stha sam mā bhadreṇa pr̥kta* VS. VSK. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *sampṛcau sthaḥ sam mā bhadreṇa pr̥ktaṁ* VS. ŚB. And, in same passage:

vīpṛca (°*aḥ*, °*as*) *stha vi mā* (MŚ. omits *mā*) *pāpmanā* (VSK. *pāpena*) *pr̥kta*: *vīpṛcau stho vi mā pāpmanā pr̥ktaṁ*, same texts. VSK. has plural in place of the dual of VS. Address to *grahas*, in the dual passage only two in VS. ŚB. (*somasurāgrahau*, comm.); but in the preceding part of the formula a plurality of them is address in these texts also.

vājino vājajilo vājam sarisyanto etc., and: *vājinau vājajitau vājam jivā* etc.; also:

vājīno vājajīto vājam sasvāṇso etc., and: *vājīnau vājajitau vājam jitrā* etc., both VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. For the various readings see §329. Either two horses of the racing team, or the entire team, are alternatively addrest or referred to in this ritual formula.
agnim adya hotāram (*avṛgātām*, and *avṛṇata* . . .) ŚŚ.; see Conc. under this item.

4. *Subject pluralized or dualized by the inclusion of a different entity or entities from that designated in the singular form.*

§353. Here the dual or plural goes with a subject which includes both the subject of the singular form and some other entity or entities, referred to in the context. It differs from the preceding class in that the 'multiplication' is accomplished by including a disparate person or thing. As before, the process works both ways; sometimes addition or multiplication, sometimes subtraction or division. Very frequently this manifests itself in the following way: a series of coordinate nouns is the joint subject of a plural verb, while in another form of the same formula the verb is made singular, agreeing nominally with the nearest subject alone. There is, of course, no real difference in the sense in such cases. All three numbers occur in the first variant, which is somewhat complicated:

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indram karmasv āvatam (MS. VS.* 'ta) RV. AV. VS. (both) MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *indram karmasv avatu* MS.: *indra karmasu no 'vata* VS. KS.: *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB. (see below). All in essentially the same stanza, with sometimes extensive modifications. The original (RV.) subject is the Aśvins, who are meant by the dual verb. The plural includes Sarasvatī, named (in this version) in the preceding pāda; or Sarasvatī and Indra, in the variant reading *indra* (voc.). In the singular form the subject is Sarvasvatī alone, as nearest subject (MS.). The TB., if the reading were correct, would be interpretable with Indra as subject; but the Poona ed. text and comm., and the comm. of the Bibl. Ind. ed., read *indra* . . . 'vata, like the second version of VS. KS.

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āsīdantu (SV. *āsīdatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB. adds *varuṇo*) *aryamā* RV. SV. VS. TB. Followed by *prātaryādeāno adhearam*. The real subject in RV. is the gods in general; *mitro aryamā* are merely examples (Sāyṇa: *yo mitro devo yaś cāryamā ye cānye prātaryādeānaḥ* . . . *devā* etc.). But both SV. and TB. were troubled by the seeming disagreement (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the

construction—SV, by making the verb singular (agreeing with the nearer subject, *mitro*), TB, by inserting *varuṇo* and thus providing three subjects.

mā vo riṣat (Kauś. *te riṣat*) *khanitā* RV. VS. TS. Kauś. The rest of the verse reads in Kauś.: *yasmai ca tē khaṇāmasi, dripāc catuṣpād asmākaṁ mā riṣad devy oṣadhe*. The plural in *a* is awkward, but is evidently conditioned by thought of the other subjects in *b*, *c*: 'may they (all) not be harmed, (namely) thy digger, he for whom we dig thee, our bipeds and quadrupeds' etc. Perversely, Kauś. has a singular in *d* (*mā riṣad devy oṣadhe*) where a plural would be simpler; it is to be explained as a collective, see under §358. The others have a different *pāda* *d*.

samvatsaraḥ ca kalpatām (most mss. of TA. *kalpatām*) TA. MahānU. Preceded by *ardhamātā mānā rāvaḥ*. The TA. comm. knew both readings; after explaining *kalpatām*, with subject *samvatsaraḥ*, he goes on: *kalpatām iti bahuvacanapāṭhe sarve 'pi kalamīṣeṣāḥ... iti yajyam*.—The formulas *samvatsaro me kalpatām* and *samvatsaras te ka*° (see Conc.) have no real connexion with this one.

apām garbham vy adadhāt (MS. °*dhuḥ*) *purutrā* VS. TS. MS. KS. The subject in VS. TS. KS. is *pitr*, mentioned in the prec. *pāda*; in MS. it either includes the three personages mentioned in *pādas* *a-c* (Viśvakarman, gandharva, and *pitr*), or possibly it is a generalizing plural (cf. §359).

ṛtān mā muñcatānhasaḥ TB.: *ṛtān naḥ pīhy anhasaḥ* (TA. *enasah*) MS. TA. In the prec. two *pādas* first *dvāvāpṛthivī* are addrest, then *sarasvatī*. The verb agrees with the nearer subject in MS. TA., while in TB. it includes both.

savitā varca ādadhāt (MG. °*dhuḥ*) TB. MG. Preceded by: *tubhyam indro* (MG. adds *varuṇo*) *bṛhaspatih*. In MG. the subject is made to include the gods mentioned in the prec. *pāda*, while in TB. it agrees with *savitā* alone.

rucāṁ no dhatta (MS. *dheh*) *bṛhaspate* VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by: *indrāgnī tābhīḥ sarvābhīḥ*. The plural verb includes *indrāgnī* as well as *bṛhaspate* as subject.

ūrdhwayā dikā (ŚŚ. *diśā saha*; TS. AŚ. *ūrdhwayām dikā*) *yajñāḥ samvatsaro* (TS. ŚŚ. add *yajñapatir*; AŚ. °*raḥ prajāpatir*) *mārjayantām* (MS. AŚ. °*yatām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.—KS. is unsyntactical in that it has a plural verb with only two subjects. In MS. AŚ. the verb is made singular, agreeing with the nearest subject only.

yajamānāya draviṇam dadhātu (VS. ŚB. KS.* *dadhāta*) AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. A long series of gods named in the preceding; in the majority of texts the verb is sing. agreeing with only the last. On the change of person see §332.

braddhā prajā (read *prajā*?) *ca medhā ca tilāḥ kṛntīm kṛvantu medhā* MahānU.: *braddhāmedhe prajā tu jātavedaḥ saṁdadātu mād* TAA. In the latter the verb agrees with *prajā*, the nearer subject. *sūryaḥ* (also, *somaḥ*) *paritram sa mā punātu* ApŚ.: *sāyuh somaḥ sūrya indraḥ paritram te mā punantu* N.

hotā yakṣad aśvinau (°nā) *sarasvatīm indram surāmṇāṁ somānāṁ pibatu madantām vyantu* (KS. *indram sūtrāmṇāṁ somānāṁ surāmṇāṁ juṣantām vyantu pibantu somān surāmṇāḥ*; AŚ. *indram* [as KS.] . . *pibantu madantu somān* etc.) MS. KS. AŚ. In MS. subject of *pibatu* is Indra alone (the last-mentioned god; he is more-over the soma-drinker par excellence), while all the gods named are the subjects of the other verbs in MS., and in KS. AŚ. of *pibantu* likewise.

dirgham āyuh kṛṇātu me etc.; see §365.

śarad dhementaḥ suvile dadhāta (°tu), etc., see §332.

§356. Singular and Dual

tasya nāmnā vṛśāmi (MŚ. *vṛśāvo*) *yo 'smān* (MŚ. *asmān*) *dveṣi* . . ApŚ. MŚ. 'By its name I (we two, i.e. I and the fireplace addressed) cleave him who hates us.'

yena yamariya (AV. *yamariya yena*, ApŚ. TB. omit *yena*) *nidhina* (*balina*) *carāmi* (MS. MŚ. *carācaḥ*; SMB.† *carāṁi*) AV. TS. MS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. 'With what treasure (tribute) of Yama I (we two) go about.' The dual cunningly draws the god Agni (addressed in the context) into partnership with the sinner!

punar ātman dadhātu me ApŚ.: *punar me jāthare dhātām* GB. Vait. Preceded in the latter by: *agniḥ ca tat saritā ca*; in ApŚ. by: *agniḥ tat somaḥ pṛthivī* (verb agrees with last subject).

saṁ yuyjāva (TS. *babhūva*) *vanibhya ā* RV. TS.: *saṁ sanuyāva varīṣv ā* KSA. Preceded in all by: *aham ca tvaṁ ca vṛtrahan*. The dual is the natural form; TS. (excluding *tvaṁ* from the subject) is bizarre.

avānyāḥ tantūn kirato dhātto anyān TB.: *prānyā tantūns tirato dhātto anyā* AV. Inclusive dual in TB.; two separate singulars, each with subject *anyā*, in AV. That is, two separate actions are performed by the members of the pair, one apiece, in AV.; both actions are done by both together in TB.

sañjajñāne rodasi sambabhūvatuḥ TB. ApŚ.: *saṁānam yonim abhisambabhūra* MŚ. Preceded by *yad idam* (MŚ. *ado*) *divo yad adaḥ* (MŚ. *idam*) *prthivyāḥ*. In MŚ. the real sense implies a dual subject, but the verb agrees syntactically with the nearer of the two; note that it has no dual noun referring to the subject, as have the others. *saha dharmam cara* (GDh. *dharmat caryatām*) GDh. NāradaDh.: *sahobhau caratām dharmam* MDh.

ayāḍ (ŚŚ. *ayāl*) *agnir* (MŚ. *ayāḍtām agnīvaruṣṭe*) *agneḥ priyā dhāmāni* MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. MŚ. And, in the same passage: *ayāl* (MŚ. *ayāḍtām*) *somasya*...; *ayāḍ* (*ayāḍtām*) *devadām*...; *yakṣad agner hotuḥ* (*yakṣato 'gnīvaruṣayor hotroḥ*)...; *yakṣat svam mahimānam* (*yakṣataḥ svau mahimānau*); *āyajatām* (*āyajeyātām*) *ejyā iṣaḥ*; *kṛṇotu ec adhvārān* (*'rā*) *jāluvedāḥ* (*kṛṇutām tār adhvārā jāluvedasau*); *juzatām* (*juzetām*) *harīḥ*. Duals all in MŚ.; singulars (subject Agnī) in various of the others, see Conc.

mā mā (KS. *mām*; AB. *mainam*) *hīnāṣtam svam* (AB. *svām*; KS. *yai svam*) *yonim āvikantau* (KS. *āvīkīthah*) MS. KS. AB.: *mā mā hīnāḥ svam* (KS. *svam*) *yonim āvikanti* (KS. TB. ApŚ. *āvīkan*) VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. The dual is addressed to soma and surā together (both are mentioned in the preceding); the singular to *surā* and soma, respectively, alone.

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āśvīnā bhiṣajdvataḥ (MS. *'tam*; TB. *'ta*) VS. MS. TB. 'O Aśvins, physicians, aid', or, 'let the Aśvins' etc. In TB. the plural is due to the inclusion of Saramvati (mentioned in the preceding) along with the Aśvins in the subject.

ei sakhyāni vṛjāmahe (ŚŚ. *'mahai*; MŚ. *vīrjāmahai*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. PG. The formula is used in dissolving the ritual bond between *yajamāna* and priests, and dual pronouns occur in the preceding; the dual of MŚ. is therefore quite rational. But the other texts think of the plurality of priests, together with the *yajamāna*. *agnīṣomnu tam apa nudatām* (Conc. quotes *'tam*)... VS. ŚB.: *agnir agnīṣomau tam apanudantu*... ŚŚ. Very simple case of 'addition' to the subject.

[*āyuskrīd āyuspatnī svadhāvantau*,] *gopā me stam*, *gopāyatan mān*, *ātmasādau me stam mā mā hīnāṣtam* AV. 5. 9. 8: [*āyuskrīd āyupatnī* (ms. *'nī*); read *āyuskrīd āyupatnī?*] *svadhāvo* *gopā nah stha*... KS. 37. 15: [*āyuskrīd āyupatnī svadhā vo* (so text, and so Caland interprets, not as voc. *svadhāvo*)] *goptryo me stha*, *gopāyata mā*, *rakṣata mātmarado me stha* ApŚ. 6. 21. 1. The dual verbs of AV. are apparently

address to the *svadhāvantau* (note masculine predicates). KS. has plural with masc. predicates, the masc. being really common gender, inclusive of *dyuṣṣpatnī*, fem.; ApŚ. has fem. plural, presumably including the sing. *dyukṛd* (understood as fem.?) and the dual fem. *dyuḥpatnī* as subjects; if Garbe and Caland are right in dividing *svadhā vo*, ApŚ. has no unmistakably masc. subject.

5. *Singular verb used alternatively with plural or dual subject felt collectively*

§358. As we mentioned above, §297, a plural or dual verb, justified by strict grammar, may be replaced by a singular verb because the subject is felt collectively as a unit. In the first instance the plural is a *plurale tantum*, *āpah* 'waters', which is unquestionably construed with a singular verb here:

āpo 'mṛtaṁ *atha* (PrāṇāgU. *am* *asi*) Kauś. PrāṇāgU. 'O waters, ye are (thou art) nectar!' We believe the context makes it clear that PrāṇāgU. really feels *āpah* as a collective singular in sense; to explain the form *asi* as attracted to the number of the predicate noun *amṛtam* would be, in our opinion, a mechanical and uninspired interpretation of the passage.

Singular and Dual:

drupadāi *isa* *mūcatām* (TB. **tu*, so read with Poona ed.) AV. TB.

Preceded by *bhūtam mā tasmā bhavyaṁ ca*: 'May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a pest.' The singular in TB. might, possibly, be explained as under (e), that is as agreeing with the nearer of the two subjects alone; but this seems to us false and mechanical. Rather, the two subjects are taken together as forming a single unitary concept.

See also the Kauś. reading, 33.9d, quoted under *mā vo riṣat* etc., §355.

6. *Generalising forms, with subject indefinite*

§359. We saw above (§291), that the commonest Vedic form used to express an indefinite subject (French *on*, German *man*) is the third plural. This varies frequently with a third singular, which is often likewise indefinite, but sometimes has a definite subject. Indefinite third person forms, either singular or more often plural, likewise vary with first and second person, generally with definite subjects. Such variations between first and third person have been listed above §314 f.; the rarer cases of third plural varying with second singular, with one somewhat similar case of second plural and indefinite third singular, are

listed below. The great majority of cases concern only third person forms, in which the 3d plural is indefinite, while the third singular is either definite or indefinite:

agnaye sam anamat prthivyai sam anamad... TS. KSA.: *prthivyām agnaye sam anaman sa ūrdhot* AV. (And the like with *antarik-
ṣūya sam* etc., see Conc.; and others.) 'To Agni, to the earth, one
(they) made obeisance; he (it) throve'. Both singular and plural
are indefinite. In the sequel of the same formula, however, TS.
has a definite 3d singular, with subject Agni, while the 3d plural of
AV. is still indefinite:

yathāgniḥ prthivīḥ sam anamad... TS.: *yathā prthivyām agnaye sam
anamann...* AV. 'As Agni made obeisance to the earth', or, 'as on
the earth they made obeisance to Agni'.

na yac chādreṣu alipsata (ŚŚ. *alipsata*) AB. ŚŚ. 'Which they (one)
would not find (even) among *śādros*.' 3d plural aor.: 3d sing.
desiderative; both indefinite. See §135.

svasti naḥ pūrgamukhaḥ pari krāmatu (HG. **mukhaḥ pari krāmantu*)
ApMB. HG. As the priest (only one, even in HG.) walks around
(cows etc. used in the ritual) he says: 'With luck may one (they)
walk around full-faced (or, around our full face?).' The plural, at
least, seems to be generalizing and indefinite in character.

nābhī prāpnōti (MŚ. **anupur*) *nīrtīm parācāḥ* (AŚ. MŚ. *parastāt*)
TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *na tat prāpnōti nīrtīm parācāḥ* (KŚ. *nīrtiḥ
parastāt*) KŚ. ApŚ. The isolated reading of MŚ. is probably a mere
blunder; the passage is otherwise corrupt in the MŚ. mss., see
Knauer's note. But it can at a pinch be interpreted as generalizing,
'they' = 'people', 'man'.

brahmayāgyam itī (AV. **jāyati*) *ced avocan* (AV. **cat*) RV. AV. Both
sing. and plur. are indefinite: 'if they have (one has) said, She is a
brahman's wife.'

yat te grāṇā cikhiduh (MŚ. *cikhindat*) *soma-rājan* TB. Vait. MŚ. Both
sing. and plur. generalizing: 'what with the press-stone they have
(one may) cut off, O King Soma.'

yat te grāṇā bāhucyuto acucyavuh (Vait. *acucyot*) TB. Vait. In a stanza
which immediately follows the preceding. The plural of TB. is
really uninterpretable (comm. *acucyavayal*); it must be rendered:
'what of thee (soma) the press-stone, arm-dropped, has let fall.'
But it seems to be felt vaguely as a generalizing plural, no doubt in
mechanical imitation of the plural verb in the preceding and similar
passage, just quoted.

yebhīr vācam puṣkalebhīr avyayan (TB. °yat) KS. TB. The plur. is certainly generalizing, and acc. to TB. comm. also the sing. (*sarvo jantuh* is supplied as subject), altho it might be understood as having *vārya* of the prec. pāda as subject; cf. next.

yebhīr vācam viśvarūpebhīr avyayan (TB. °rūpām samavyayat) KS. TB. In the same passage as the prec. Again the plur. is certainly generalizing, and the sing. may be considered so with as much right as in the prec., altho this time TB. comm. supplies Prajāpati from the prec. pāda.

vāyuh pūrāśt tenāyajanta (KSA. °jata) . . VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. And the same with *agnih*, and with *ādityah* (*sūryah*). Both forms are generalizing: 'therewith they (= people; or, one) sacrificed.'

idāṁ wasṛ ajanayat (MS. *var ajanan*, KS.† *wasṛ* [ms. *wasār*] *ajanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS. MS. KS. In TS. the subject is *dhātā* of preceding pāda; in the others there is no definite subject (generalizing plural).

purutāśt le manutām (AV. *vanutām*) *viṣhitām jagat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. The subject in AV. can only be indefinite, 'they', if the reading is correct; the comm. reads *vanutām*. In the others *jagat* is the subject.

ya indreṇ sarathā yāti devah AV.: *yenendrasya ratham samababhūrah* MS. KS. ApŚ. In the latter the subject is indefinite; in AV. it is *yah* = Agni (who is referred to by *ena* in the others).

§360. For variations between indefinite 3d plural and definite 1st singular, see §315 above. In a few cases we find the same indefinite 3d plural varying with a definite 2d singular; and once or twice, in the first two variants, a somewhat similar variation between a generalizing 3d singular (subject once a relative pronoun used as indefinite) varying with a definite 2d plural:

śamīlāro yad ātra sukṛtam kṛyavathāsmāsu tad yad dukṛtam anyātra tat AB. AŚ.: *yo dukṛtam karavat tasya dukṛtam* Kauś.

tana mā sāha kumbhata (AV. vulgate *kumbhantu*, but SPP. *kumbhatu*, adopted by Whitney on 18. 3. 56) RV. AV. In RV. apparently the waters are addrest; in AV. the plural form (which is read by some mss.) might also refer to them (and then concerns §337); the singular, if correct, can only be indefinite (Whitney, 'one').

yenendrasya samabharah (MS. KS. °ran) *payāśi* AV. TS. MS. KS. In AV. TS. the subject is Agni; in MS. KS. indefinite. 'By which thou didst (they did) collect milk for Indra.'

nayanto garbham vanām dhiyaṁ dhuh RV.: *nayantāḥ gārbhāḥ vanā dhiyaṁ dhāh* SV. The subject in RV. is indefinite 3d plural; in SV. it is Agni, to whom the hymn is address. See Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, on 10. 46. 5.

yena jayanti (TB, *jayāsi*) *na parā jayante* (TB, *jayāsi*) AV. TB. 'By whom people conquer (thou shalt conquer), not be conquered.'

rajan (SV, *raṇā*) *gāro na yajase* RV. SV. 'May they (indefinite, Ludwig 'man'; in SV., 'do thou') rejoice as cows do in pasture.' Subject Soma in SV.

[*carasvatyā* (^o*iyām*) *adhī manāv* (with variants) *acakṛṣuḥ* (*acakṛṣuḥ*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. See §§136, 236. The SMB. is quoted in the Conc., following the older edition, as *sa* ^o*adhī vanāva cakṛdhī*; the only possible subject of the 2d person verb would be Indra, who is mentioned (not address) in the sequel. But the true reading is no doubt *manāv acakṛṣuḥ*, as given by Jørgensen.]

7. Change of Number due to Change of Subject, in the same context

§361. In many cases the shift in verbal number is due to a rearrangement of the syntax of the passage, involving a change of subject. Cf. above, §§ 323, 338. Naturally, there is often a change of person as well as number. We begin with cases in which number alone is changed; and first cases of

Third Person, Singular and Plural

brahma devā avīrdhan (MŚ. *devāḥ*, KS. *devān*, MŚ. KS. *avīrdhāt*) VS. MŚ. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'The gods have increased brahman', or, 'brahman has increased the gods.'

catuṣṭomam adadhāt (TS. ^o*ṣṭomo abhavad*) *yā turīyā* TS. MŚ. KS.: *agnīṣṭomāḥ adadhur yā turīyāḥ* AV. Subject in AV. must be *ṣṣayah* in the sequel if the text is correct; but Whitney on 8. 9. 14 would emend to *adadhāt*.

apām upasthe mahiṣo vavardha (RV.* VS. ŚB. *mahiṣā vavardhan*) RV. (both) AV. SV. VS. ŚB. TA. *vavardha*, intrans., subject Agni, who is the object of *vavardhan* (trans., subject *mahiṣāḥ*).

layā devāḥ sutam ā babhūruḥ TS. KSA. TB.: *sā no amin suta ā babhūva* VS. MŚ. See Keith on TS. 4. 1. 2. 1, note 6.

yathāmitāṁ (AV. *yathaiṣāṁ*, SV. *yathaitēṣāṁ*, VS. *yathāmī*) *anyo anyam na jānāt* (VS. *jānan*) RVKh. AV. SV. VS. The plural in VS. is due to the fact that *amī* is made the subject. 'So that one of them may not know another', or, 'so that they may not know one the other.'

ekapādī drīpādī. . . bhuvanānu prathatām vāhā TS.: *ekapādam drīpādam tripādam catuṣpādam bhuvanānu prathantām* KS.: *ekapadīm . . . catuṣpadīm aṣṭāpadīm bhuvanānu prathantām* VS. ŚB. The TS. form is intrans., 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds'; the others have a trans. verb with indefinite subject, 'let them spread her out' etc. This might be grouped under the preceding subdivision, but for the change of subject.

akṛvaṁ madhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ. *abandhnata*) ŚB. ŚŚ. See §30, end.

tābhīḥ samrabdham ane arindan (TB. *samrabdho avidat*) *ṣaḍ urvīḥ* AV. TB. In AV. *ṣaḍ urvīḥ* is the subject; in TB. it is made the object, the subject being *samrabdho* (= Rohita).

anvātānāt tṛayi (MS. *anvātānāus tava*) *tantum etam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The subject is somewhat obscure in both cases; Mahidhara on VS. understands *tṛayah*, despite singular verb! MS. seems to take the subject to be *pitarah* in the preceding pāda (the others have *pitarā* or **rañ*).

apochatu (AV. **chantu*) *mithunā yā kimīdinā* (AV. *ye kimīdinah*) RV. AV. In RV. the subject of the (transitive) verb is doubtless Indra, who is mentioned in the preceding verse; 'let him shine away the paired *kimīdins*.' In AV. the verb is intransitive, and the subject *kimīdinah*: 'let the *kimīdins* fade away.'

achāyam yanti kavasaḥ ghṛtācīḥ KS.: *achāyam eti kavasaḥ ghṛtena* (AV. *ghṛtā cī*) AV. TS. VS. MS. Keith on TS. 4. 1. 8. 1 not unfairly calls the KS. reading 'absurd'; but the psychology of it is plain; it is thinking of *śrucaḥ* in the next line. In the others the subject is Agni.

āvir bhuvad (ArŚ. *bhuvann*) *arupīr yasaḥ goḥ* (ArŚ. *gāraḥ*) RV. ArŚ. The subject is changed from *arupīḥ* (singular in RV.) to *gāraḥ*, no doubt because ArŚ. feels *arupīḥ* to be a plural adjective.

pibāt somaṁ mamadad (AS. ŚŚ. *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayah*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May it (soma) exhilarate him at the sacrifice'; 'may the sacrifices exhilarate him.'

aryamno agnīṁ pary etu pūṣaṁ (ApMB. *pari yantu kṣipram*) AV. ApMB. The subject is the bride in AV., the kinsfolk (or priests?) in ApMB. *āpo malam ita prāṇaikṣīt* (ApŚ. *prāṇījan*) AV. ApŚ. Subject is a plant in AV.; in ApŚ. waters, the verb being drawn into the simile.

tam rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhat TS.: *tam rakṣasva, mā tvā dabhan* MS. 1. 2. 13: 22. 12; VS. 5. 39; KS. 3.1 (in Conc. quoted under the two parts separately; but this is the true parallel to the TS. passage, instead of *tān rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhan*, to which Conc. gives a

cross-reference but which is an unrelated passage). *rakṣasa* is address to *Śavitar*, *rakṣadhvam* to the gods in general (cf. Keith on TS. 1. 3. 4. 2). *taṁ* refers to soma, which in TS. is made the subject of *dobhat*, 'may it not fail you'; the others understand *dabhat* in a different sense: 'may they (indefinite; acc. to Mahidhara, the asuras) not injure thee (*Śavitar*).'

niṣkrītaḥ sa (TS. °*krīto* 'yam'; KS. MŚ. °*krītās te*) *yajñīyāḥ bhāgam etu* (KS. MŚ. *bhāgaṁ yantu*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. The subject varies from the *pakupati* to cattle.

vī parjanyaḥ (TS. °*yāḥ*) *srjanti* (MS. KS. *pra parjanyaḥ srjatāmī*) *rodasī* anu RV. TS. MS. KS. In RV. the subject is the Maruts; in the others *Parjanya*, sing. or (TS.) plural (cf. §349).

sūro aktuṣe ā yaman (SV. *yamat*) RV. SV. Preceded by: *mā na indrābhy ādīśaḥ*. RV.: 'O Indra, let not (evil) intentions aim at us in the light of the sun (or, intentions of the sun by night)'; cf. Neisser, *Zum Wbch. des RV.* s.v. *aktu*; Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* 2.144. In SV. *sūro* is evidently conceived as nom. subject of *yamat*, presumably with *ādīśaḥ* object.

§362. Second Person, Singular and Plural

eva vā asman muñcāt vy aśhah RV. MS. KS. ApŚ.: *evā tvam aśmat pra muñcāt vy aśhah* TS. The *Vasus* are address, even in TS., in the preceding half verse; TS. here changes rather lamely to an address to *Agni*, who is address in the following *pāda*.

ihehaśān kṛṇuhi (TS. MS. KS. TB. *kṛṇuta*) *bhojanāni* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Subject in RV. is doubtless *Indra*, to whom the hymn is address, but no subject is mentioned in this verse (*Mahidhara* on VS. understands *Soma*); several texts make the verb plural, referring presumably to gods in general.

annam payo reto vandau (ŚB. °*vandau*) *dhatta* (MS. ApŚ. *dhehi*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. All texts have adjoining formulae where *Agni* is spoken of in the third person; in this, MS. ApŚ. obviously regard *Agni* as address directly, while the other (and presumably more original) reading addresses it to some plural concept (TB. comm. gods, VS. comm. priests).

saṁ pra cyavadhvam upa (TS. anu) *saṁ pra yāta* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *agne cyavava saṁ anu pra yāhi* MS. Followed by:

agne (MS. *āviṣ*) *patho devayānān kṛṇudhvam* (MS.* *kṛṇuṣva*) VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. ŚB.: *agne pathaḥ kalpaya devayānān* AV. In MS. both forms are consistent with the context, since they are address (in adjoining stanzas) to *Agni* and to *devāḥ* respectively.

In the others only AV. is grammatically 'correct', since no other subject is named along with Agni and the plural is irrational; Mahidhara on VS. blithely takes *kṛyudhvam* as meaning *kṛyusva*; but two other plural imperatives occur in the preceding in all YV. texts, and they, like *kṛyudhvam*, are evidently address to the gods in general.

revati predhā yajñapatim āvīṣa MS. KS. *revati yajamāne priyaṁ dhā āvīṣa* VS. ŚB. *revati yajñapatim priyadhṛśata* TS. ApŚ. Acc. to the Tait. ritual texts (see Keith 45 n. 5), address to the *vapśra-rapās*, the two *daibha*-stalks and the *plakṣa*-twig, but acc. to TS. comm., to the members of the sacrificial animal. Acc. to VS. comm., Vāc is address.

vratam kṛyuta (VSK. adds: *vratam kṛyū vratam kṛyuta*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. Acc. to Mahidhara on VS. 4. 11 and KŚ., the formula *vratam kṛyuta*, 'prepare the fast-food', is to be repeated thrice. The comm. on KŚ. says it is address to the *adhvaryu* etc., i.e. the *adhvaryu* and his assistants. The three-fold repetition is actually found in VSK., but the second time with singular instead of plural; we may no doubt assume that this form (if textually sound) was address to a single priest (the *adhvaryu*?).

anuḥṣaṇam vayata (KS. *vayasi*) *jogudm apah* RV. TS. KS. AB. ApŚ. On this obscure verse see Edgerton, *AJP.* 40. 188, 192. Four other parallel verbs, before and after this one in the same stanza, are all singular, address to Agni. The subject of *vayata* is doubtful. KS. makes it consistent with the others, of course secondarily.

ā mātarā sthāpayase jigatnū RV. AV.: *ā sthāpayata mātaram jigatnum* AV. Followed by:

ata inoṣi karvarā puruṇi RV. AV.: *ata invata karvarāni bhūri* AV. In an obscure hymn to Indra, who is the subject in RV.: in one AV. passage there is a sudden change of subject (to whom?) in the second half of the stanza, the first half of which is still addressed to Indra, here also.

§363. Singular and Dual

dhattam rayim sahavītram (ApMB. *daśavītram*) *vacasyave* RV. ApMB.: *rayim dhehi sarvavītram vacasyam* AV. Dual address to the Aśvins, who are address in the next *pādas* also in AV. The singular must be understood as address to the bride, but it is not unfairly described as 'senseless' (Whitney).

yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādataḥ AV.: *yad apsaradrōr uparasya* (so Conc., but KS. ed. °*drūr upa*°, see note in text; ApŚ. *apsararūpara-*

ṛṣa) khādati KS. ApŚ. In AV. the subject is apparently the two *arṇis*; in the others it must be Agni, but the passage is so obscure that Caland in his translation of ApŚ. makes no attempt to render it.

atha jīvir (ApMB. *athā jīvī*; RV. *adhā jīvī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthah*) RV. AV. ApMB. (The true AV. reading seems to be *jīvir*, see Whitney's note.) In RV. address to the married couple, altho in the preceding pāda the bride alone is address. For this reason, doubtless, the later texts also address this pāda to the bride, by assimilation to the preceding.

ṛtunā somam pibatam (KS. °tu; MŚ. °tām) KS. MŚ. ApŚ. Subject Aśvins in ApŚ. MŚ. (*āśvinādharyā* MŚ.); an unnamed priest in KS.

ghṛteṇa dyāvāprthivā ā prṇethām (MS. MŚ. *prya*; LŚ. *prīṇāthām* *ṛṇā*) TS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'With ghee be filled (gratified), O heaven and earth!', or, 'fill heaven and earth with ghee' (address to the post).

varuṇasya skambhasarjanam asi (KS. °ny asi; VS. ŚB. °nī *stha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MahānU. See Keith on TS. 1. 2. 8. 2, note 7.

§364. Dual and Plural

tā imā upa sarpaṭaḥ SV. JB.: *emām anu sarpaṭa* MS. In SV. said of a pair of horses.

yenākṣā (ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*; SMB. *yenākṣān*; PG. *yenākṣyār*) *abhyazicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. °*gīncatam*, PG. °*tām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. In AV. the expression is made passive, with *akṣā(h)* as subject; see §§332, 293.

§365. Singular and Plural, with accompanying Change of Person

We list here only variants in which 2d and 3d person forms, singular and plural, interchange. A few stray cases of 1st person interchanging with 2d and 3d, with shift of number, will be found above, §§302, 304, 312, 323.

avar (TS. *avar*) *gā śukram uṣaso vī didyutuḥ* (RV. °*taḥ*) RV. TS. MS. 'Like bright heaven the dawns have shone forth (or, make thou the dawns to shine forth).'

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādityāḥ sadantu VS. ŚB.: *vasānām rudrāṇām ādityānām sadasi sīda* (KS. *sadanam asi*; MS. *sada* 'vi *srucām yonih*) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

pakṭaudanasya suktām etu lokam AV.: (in next stanza) *imanā pakṭā suktām eta lokam* AV. Subject of *eta* is the grains composing the porridge (*odana*); that of *etu* is *pakṭa*, the cooker of the *odana*. Conscious *vikāra*.

- hṛdo astv antaram taj juṣoṣat* (TA. *tad yuyota*) RV. KS. TA. 'Let (our song) be within (Parjanya's) heart; may he enjoy it.' TA. comm. regards *yuyota* as addressed to the priests: 'unite it (viz. our song, to Parjanya's heart).' But the reading is hardly more than a corruption; it has phonetic aspects (*j:y*).
- deveṣu naḥ sukrto (mā sukrtaṁ) brātāt* (*brāta, brūyāt*), and others; see §104, t. The 3d person *brūyāt* is probably corrupt.
- yās ca (yā) devīr (devyo) antān* (with variants) *abhūto 'dadanta (tatantha)*; see §220. The form *tatantha* is corrupt, and may not even be intended for a 2d person.
- nīṣkam ita prati muṣcala (°tām)* AV. (both). 'Fasten ye on (another) like a necklace', or, 'let him fasten on himself' etc.
- indrāṁ samateu bhūṣata* SV.: *indrāḥ samateu bhūṣatu* RV. AV. Preceded by *ā no viśvāsu havyaḥ* (SV. *°yam*). 'Let Indra associate himself with us (SV. praise ye Indra),—who is to be invoked (of us) in every conflict.'
- salakṣmā* (MS. KS. *°mo*) *yad viśurūpaṁ* (RV. AV. *°pā*) *bhavāti* (MS. KS. *babhūva*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viśurūpā yat salakṣmāṇo bhavatha* TS. In RV. AV. of Yama (and Yami); in YV. different context, and scarcely interpretable: 'when what is (ye that are) different become(s) similar.'
- tigmāyudhāya bharaṭā śṛṇotu naḥ* (TB. *śṛṇotana*) RV. TB. N. 'Bring ye (a hymn) to him of sharp weapons; may he hear us (hear ye)!' In TB. the verb is assimilated mechanically to *bharaṭā*; its secondariness is attested by the strong form of the stem.
- ā we yonau nīṣidatu* (KS. *°ta*) RV. TS. MS. KS. AB. 'May he (the god) sit (or, sit ye—priests) in his (your) own home.'
- indrāya drevbhyo juḥvātā* (MŚ. *°tān*; ApŚ. *juṣatām*) *haviḥ svāhā* PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
- indrāya pathibhir vohān* (MS. *vaha*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Original subject is Aśvins and Sarasvatī; in MS. awkwardly changed to a priest.
- yānti kubhṛā riṣān apah* RV.: *kubhā yāsi riṣān apah* AV. Subject Maruts in RV., in AV. Rohita.
- ud dharṣaya maghavanu* (AV. *satvanām*) *āyudhāni* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.: *ud dharṣantām magharan rājīnāni* AV. 'Let the energies be aroused, O Maghavan' or, 'arouse the weapons, O M. (the weapons of the warriors).'
- tās tvā devīr* (SMB. MG. *devyo*) *jarasē* (SMB. HG. *°sā*) *saṁ vyayantu* (PG. *°yasva*) SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.: *tās tvā jarasē saṁ vyayantu* AV. 'Let these (goddesses) wrap thee up unto (with) old age'; or, 'wrap thyself up' etc.

kiṃ nuh śaṇṭamā bhara (TA. also *bhavantu*) AV. AA. TA. (both). AS. LS. TA. by an addition in one form of the variant introduces a different subject; see Whitney on AV. 7. 68. 3.

svadhābhīr yajñam sukṛtām juṣaṣa (TB. *yajñam prayatām juṣantām*) RV. VS. TB. In the original the subject is Agni, in TB. it is made the *pitr*, obviously because in Brāhmaṇa times *svadhā* belongs particularly to them.

dirgham āyuh kṛṇatu me (AV.* ApMB. *sām*) AV. JB. Kauś. ApMB.: *āyusmantāṃ karota mā* (RVKh. *karotu mām*; KS. *kṛṇota mā*) RVKh. KS. TA. BDh.: *sarvam āyur dadhātu me* ApŚ. Occurs in several contexts in AV.; one of these (7. 33. 1) is the same which occurs in all the other texts except Kauś. and ApMB.; the others are quite different. In the one verse found in the majority of texts, this *pāda* is found at the end; in the prec. various gods (last, Agni) are invoked in the 3d person for blessings on 'me' ('you' KS. ApŚ.); here Agni alone is invoked, likewise in the 3d person, in all but KS. TA. BDh., where we have instead a 2d person address to the plurality of gods mentioned before. Note that the strong stem-forms *karota* and *kṛṇota* are poor. This variant might be classed in §355.

8. Change of Number due to Change of Context, with different Subject

§366. In a large number of cases, as in the case of variations in Person, the shift of number is due to the use of the formula in a different context, involving change of the verb's subject. In some cases, as in the preceding subdivision, both person and number are changed; we list these cases at the end of this subdivision in so far as they concern shifts between second and third persons along with shift of number. A few cases of the same sort showing first person in variation with second or third, and accompanying shift of number, will be found among the Person variants, above, §§303, 304, 310, 324. Included are some ritualistic *ūhas* and *vikāras*.

§367. Singular, Dual, and Plural

akṣaṇs tān VS. KS. TB.: *aghaṣtām tān* MS. TB.: *aghaṣ tam* VS. All aorists from root *ghaṣ*. Contexts are different tho related, and with different subjects. See also under *akṣaṇ* in Conc.

tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā śīda VS. TS. etc. (see Conc.): *... dhruvāḥ śīda* VS. ŚB. TA.: *... dhruve śīdatām* VS. *... dhruvāḥ śīdata* TS. Also: *tena brahmaṇā ... dhruvāḥ śīdata* (and, *... dhruvā śīda*) KS. (both); *tena chandasā ...* and *tenarṣiṇā ...*, see Conc.

sa no mṛdātāḥ RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N.: *tā no mṛdāta* (VSK. *mṛt*°) *idṛṣe* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. KS.: *te no mṛdanto idṛṣe* AV. The last is a *vikāra* of the singular form, used in the same hymn in AV.

maho jṣṭyo 'kṛta ('*kṛata*, '*krātām*): all three in MS. (4. 13. 9: 212, 4-9), TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *Vikāras*; same formula modulated with different subjects. Cf. *akrata*, and *akrātām*, AŚ. In the same connexion, *acīṛdhata* ('*dhanta*, '*dhetām*). The formula begins *agnir* (*indrāgnī*, *devā ajyapā*, etc.) *idam havir* (also *ajyam*, etc.) *ajusata* ('*anta*, '*ṣetām*).

idam vatsyāmo bhoh etc., see §344.

asadyāsmīn barhiṣi mādayadhvam RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB.: ... *mādayasva* RV.: ... '*yethām* RV. AV. The three RV. occurrences concern different subjects, *Viśve devāḥ*, *Sarasvatī*, and *Indra-Varuṇa* respectively. On the AV. occurrences (two of which repeat RV. 10. 17. 8, which has *mādayasva*, but awkwardly substitute *mādayadhvam*, changing the subject to *pitarah*) see *RVRep.* 298.

sakhāyaḥ sapta-padā abhūma TB. ApŚ. *sakhāyan sapta-padār abhūva* (ApMB.† '*padā babhūva*, see Winternitz, p. xvii.) ApMB. HG.: *sakhā sapta-padī* (ApMB. °*dī*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. MG. The singular and dual are used in the wedding-rites, address to bride alone, or spoken by the groom of himself and the bride. The plural form is said by the *yajamāna* as the *adhvaryu* steps in the seventh footstep of the soma-purchase cow; it is followed by parallel formulas in the 1st person sing., as *sakhyas te gameyam*, 'may I go to thy (= the cow's) friendship.' In our pāda we might expect a dual, including cow and *yajamāna*, 'we have become friends with seven steps'; but it may be the ordinary plural referring to the *yajamāna* alone (§344), or, perhaps better, it may include the whole sacrificial *entourage*; note that the actual stepping is done not by the *yajamāna* who speaks, but by the *adhvaryu*. On the change of person see §307.

gopāyata (MS. *gopāya*; AV. *gopāyatām*) *mā* AV. VS. MS. Vait. ApŚ.

Different contexts; hardly proper variants.

premanīḥ survantāṁ yajamānam avatu ('*tām*, °*ntu*) ŚŚ. (all.) And: *śravat* ('*van*, *śrutām*) *brahmāṇy āvasā gamat* ('*an*, *gatām*) ŚŚ. (all.)

Vikāras, with subjects *Indra*, *dyāvāpṛthivī*, *Rbhus*.

§368. Singular and Dual

tasmān naḥ pāhy (Kauś. *pātām*) *aśhasaḥ* RV. Kauś.

prāṇāya me varcodā varcaso pavasva VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. * *prāṇāpānābhyām me varcodasmi pavethām* MŚ. In MŚ. address to Upāṇśu and Antaryāma cups, in the others to Upāṇśu alone.

a no yātam (yāhy) upakruti RV. (both). Address to the Aśvins or to Indra.

vidhrtir asi TA. ŚŚ.: *vidhrti sthaḥ* MS. Different contexts.

diraś ca gmaś ca rājathah (rājasi) RV. (both.) See *RVRep.* 59.

rayān grātsu didhrtam (dhāraya) RV. (both.) See *RVRep.* 271, 528.

rāyaspoṣam yajamāneṣu dhatam (dhehi; dhāraya) RV. (all.)

autānām pīṭm arhathah (arhasi) RV. (both): *somānām pī² arhathah* RV. SV. See *RVRep.* 137.

mā mā sanh tīptam (ApŚ. *tīpāh*) VS. TS. KS. TB. PB. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. MG. * *mā modogīṣtam* (ŚŚ. *modogīh*) MS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

The contexts are quite different and the formulas are only in part related to each other. E.g. in TS. Indra-Viṣṇu are the subject, in ŚB. two fires, in ApŚ. Agni, in ŚŚ. *pṛthivī*.

viṣurūpe ahanī dyaur itāsi (TA. * *ita sthaḥ*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. TA. (thrice). N. In one TA. passage address to *dyāvepṛthivī*, in the rest to a single deity. Followed in same passage by:

vidvā hi māyā anasi svadhānuh (SV. * *an*; TA. * *arathah svadhāvantau*), same texts.

apriye prati muñca tat (Kauś.† *muñcalam*) AV. Kauś. In Kauś. address to the Aśvins; in AV. probably to an amulet. Cf. *apriyah prati muñcatām*, §30.

pā indra (and, *pātām nūrā*) *pratibhṛtasya madhvaḥ* RV. (both). Dual address to Indra-Vāyu.

āre bādhetām (MS.* KS.* *bādhasva*) *nirṛtiṁ parācasi* RV. TS. MS. (both) KS. (both): *bādhasva* (AV. *bādhetām*) *dūre* (AV. *dūram*, TS. *droṣo*) *ni² pa²* RV. AV. TS. There are three different contexts; the sing. is addressed to Varuṇa, the dual to Soma-Rudra or Mitra-varuṇa. In some cases this is followed by:

kṛtām cid enah pra mumugdhy (AV. TS.* *mumuktam*) *asmat* (KS. *asmāt*) RV. AV. TS. (both) MS. KS. See preceding.

a modṛcaḥ pātam (KS.* *pāhi*) MS. KS. (both): *te mā pātam āsya yaj-ñasyodṛcaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. The sing. form of KS. is a *vikāra* of the other (in close proximity).

rāyas poṣam (KS. *trastah poṣāya*) *vi ṣyatu* (AV. MS. KS. *ṣya*) *nābhīm asme* (AV. *asya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *r. p. vi ṣyatām n. a.* RV. MS. TB. Subject of the dual is Soma-Pūṣan; of the sing. Tvastar (nom. or voc., see §329, end).

ehy asmānam ā tiṣṭha AV. ŚG. Kauś. MG.: *ā tiṣṭhemam asmānam* ApMB. HG.: *ā rohemam asmānam* PG.: *imam asmānam ā roha* AG. SMB. GG.: *etam asmānam ā tiṣṭhatam* MG. Followed by:

asmēva teah sthira (MG. ApMB.* AVPpp. *sthira*) *bhata* AVPpp. (for AV. vulgate 2. 13. 4b *asmā bhavatu te tanūh*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG.: *asmēva yuvān sthira* *bhavatam* MG. The 2d (dual) version of MG. in a *vikāra* of the other.

asmān su jigyūṣas kṛdhi (*kṛtam*) RV. (both). Subjects Indra: Indra-Varuṇa.

asme (AV.* *asyai*) *rayiṁ sarvaśiraṁ nī yachatam* (AV. **yacha*) RV. AV. (both)

bādhatām (TB. **etān*) *divo abhayaṁ* (AV.* adds *nah*) *kṛṇotu* (TB. *kṛṇutām*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. Subjects Indra: Tisya and Bṛhaspati.

§369. Dual and Plural

sumnāya sumnīnī sumne mā dhattam TS. TB. ApŚ.: *sumne sthah sumne mā dhattam* VS. ŚB.: *sumnāyurah* (KS. **yarah*) *sumnyāya sumnaṁ* (KS. *sumnyān*) *dhatta* MS. KS. The plural occurs in a different context from the dual.

anu tvā viśve devā avantu (KS. *viśve avantu devāh*) KS. TB.: *anu mātṛ mītrāśaruyān ihāvātām* AA.

hānsāmo... AB. ApŚ.: *hānsāvom*, *hānsāpo*... AB. 3. 12. 1. GB. Vait. And other forms, see Conc. Sacrificial exclamations, based upon verb-forms (dual referring to *hotar* and *adhvaryu*, plural to priests as a group?).

te māvantu AV. TS. PG.: *te* (and, *tau*) *māvātām* AV. (in same hymn; *vikāras*). See further in Conc. under *tānī no'vantu*.

pra ṇa spārhābhīr ātibhīś tīrela (**lam*) RV. (both.) Maruts: Indra-Varuṇa.

rayiṁ dhattavh (*dhattih*; *dhatto*) *vasumantam puruṣam* (*śatagvīnam*) RV. (all.) See RVRep. 149.

karma ca atho varma ca sthah VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *karma ca stha varma ca stha* KS. ApŚ. Quite different contexts and subjects.

sapatnēn sahiḡimahi AV. 3. 6. 4d; *sa** *sahiḡivahi* AV. 19. 32. 5d; *sapatnīm me sahiḡivahi* RV. AV. 3. 18. 5d. ApMB. So the AV. vulgate; but *sahiḡivahi* is an emendation (see Whitney's note); the mss. of 19. 32. 5 read **mahi*. This stanza is a repetition, with modifications to suit the new context, of 3. 18. 5; the dual is there proper, as the subject is *ubhe sahasvati* of pāda c, referring to the amulet and the speaker of the charm (there a woman; in 19. 32. 5 changed to

ubhau sahasvantau because the speaker is a man). The dual is equally required by the sense in 19. 32. 5. Yet the vulgate Atharvan reading here is clearly *sahīmahī* (all mss. and comm., altho Ppp. has the correct ²*rahī*, Barret, *JAOS.* 46. 42), which should be retained; obviously the entire pāda 3. 6. 4d, which belongs to a quite different context where the plural is required, has been mechanically imported without change into 19. 32. 5.

etā asadan sukṛtasya loke TS. TB.: *pratikas*, *etā asadan*, and (ūha) *etā asadatām*, ApŚ.

§370. Singular and Plural

marutān prasave (VS. ŚB, °*vena*) *jaya* (TS. *jayata*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. In TS. address to the horses, in the others to the chariot. Different contexts.

tasmā u rādhah kṛṇuta praśastam (AV. *kṛṇuhī supraśastam*) RV. AV.

anu mā rahhadhvam (ŚŚ. *rahhasva*) KS. ApŚ. ŚŚ. Hardly to be called variants; different contexts.

indrasya bhāga iha AV.: °*bhāgo 'si* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. Also *devasya savitur bhāga* etc. and others.

duritān (AV. *duritān*) *pāte anhasah* RV. AV.: *duritān pānte anhasah* (LŚ. *viśvatah*) AV. LŚ. Two different contexts; verb appropriate in both. In AV. we may suspect a mutual *rapprochement* in phraseology.

īdam barhiṣ nī śidata (AŚ. ŚŚ. *śida nah*) RV. VS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Different contexts.

cakṣur me tarpayata (PG. *tarpaya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG. Applied to a different context in PG. Similarly with *śrotam*, *apānam*, *prāṇāpānau*, etc.; and likewise:

prāṇam me tarpayata (ŚŚ. *trṇpa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

mohayiteḥ nīpadyate (RVKh. *prapadyante*) RV. 10. 162. 6b (correct ref.), AV. RVKh. MG.

viśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyaḥ (VS. ŚB. °*bhyas*; MS. *daṣṭrābhyaḥ*) *pāhi* (TS. TB. *pāto*; PG. *paripāhi sarvataḥ*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. PG. In TS. address to the arrows used in the *rājasūya*; in VS. acc. to Mahidhara to *mahāvīradakṣiṇābhūmī*.

varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ. *dhehi*) AV. AŚ.: *varco mayi dhehi* etc., see Conc. Numerous items in different contexts; hardly to be considered variants.

apo (TS. *udno*) *dattodadhīm bhīnta* (or *bhīnta*) VS. TS. MS. KS.: *udno dehy udadhīm bhīndhi* KS.† There are two different contexts, both of which occur in TS. MS. KS. In one the plural is appropriate,

gods being the subject. In the other (TS. 4. 7. 13. 2, MS. 2. 12.3, KS. 18. 15) only a singular is appropriate, the subject required being Agni, altho KS. is the only text that has the proper sing. form. Apparently MS. TS. copied mechanically from the other passage where the plur. is required. VS. has the formula only in this latter (properly sing.) context, but nevertheless has like TS. MS. plur. forms, blandly interpreted by Mahidhara as singulars (*datta dehi, bhintta bhinddhi?*)—At the end of the same passages occurs the following formula:

tato no (KS. *mā*) *vṛṣṭi(yāvatā* (VS.† and KS. once, **āva*) VS. TS. MŚ. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Again KS. varies consistently according to the subject, and is this time joined by VS. (not noted in Conc.), leaving only Tait. and Maitr. texts with inconsistent plurals where singulars are required.

yām indreṇa (AV. addis *samdhām*) *samadadhvam* (TS. *samadhadvam*, AV. *samadhatthāh*) AV. TS. MS. KS. (so correct Conc.); see also Conc. under *iyam vah sā. . .*, *eyā vas sā. . .*. The contexts are different, and both verbs are appropriate.

dyātu (TB.* *dyāntu*) *yajñam upa no juṣṣāṇaḥ* (TB.* **ṇāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. (both). Different contexts; subjects Indra: Ādityas.

apā jahi (*hata*) *pariṇham* ChU. (both). Address to singular and plural deities respectively.

dyur me yacha (ApŚ.* *yachata*) MŚ. KS. ApŚ. (both) MŚ.

arjam no dhehi (MS. KS. each once, *dhatta*) *dvipade catuṣpade* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AG. ŚG. ApMB. PrāṇāgU. Occurs frequently, in several different contexts; sing. number is appropriate in all but one which is address to *agnayaḥ*, plur., the prec. pāda being: *te virājam* (KS. *samrājam*) *abhisamyanantu sārve* (correct Conc. for MS.), MS. 1. 6. 2d: 88. 2 and 89. 7, KS. 7. 14d. Here KS., and once MS., have the correct form *dhatta*. In MS. 88. 2 the *samhita* mss. have incorrectly *dhehi* (note that this form of the variant occurs, in another context which requires the singular, in the same section of MS. 86. 19); the p.p. *dhatte* (!), pointing to the correct *dhatta*, which should probably be read here.

yasygauṣadhikḥ prasarpatha RV. VS.: *yasyāñjana prasarpasi* AV. Followed in same verse by:

tato yakṣmam vi bādhadhee (AV. *bādhase*) RV. AV. VS.

tatremam yajñam yujamānam ca dhehi (MŚ. 5. 2. 16. 14d *dhatta*, correct Conc.) Vait. KŚ. MŚ. (both) ApŚ. Kauś. In one of the two

occurrences in MŚ. the verb is made plural because several priests are address; in the others only one is address.

mayi ramassa (LŚ. *ramadhvam*) SMB. GG. LŚ. Hardly to be considered variants.

karat AŚ.: *karan* (ûha of *karat*) AŚ.

gātum viltā gātum ihi MS. ApŚ.: *devā gātuvīdo gātum viltā* (VSK. °tum *iltā*) *gātum ita* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. In the sing. form secondarily address to the animal as it is slaughtered.

tasyāgne bhājayeha mā TB.: *tasya bhājayateha nah* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. ApMB. The plural is address to waters.

ye' smān abhyaghātayanti AV.: *yo asmān abhyaghāpati* AV.

mama ciltam upāyayi AV.: *mama ciltam ciltanānvehi* HG.: *mama ciltam anu ciltbhīr eta* AV. Hardly variants.

prajāya Vait. MŚ.: *prajāyata* AŚ. To plurality of priests in AŚ. Hardly variants?

mā me prajāyā (correct Conc.) . . . *praxrya moxrya* (also, °*pata*, °*pata*) TA. 1. 14. 2-4 (each thrice). Modulations of the same formula with different subjects.

yukṣvā (yugādhvam) *hy aruṣṭ rathe* RV. (both). Subject Agni: Maruts. *rayiṁ ca nah saravarīm nī yachata* MS. KS. AŚ. SMB.: . . . *nī yacho* AV. (see Conc. for other sing. parallels). As between singular and plural, quite different contexts and subjects.

rāṣṭram amuṣmai datta VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *rā° am° dehi* VS. ŚB. The latter in stanza preceding the former; modulation with change of subject.

śarma yacha catuṣpade AV.: *śarma yachata devapade catuṣpade* RV.

sindhvō ūrmā vy akṣaran (SV. °*rat*) RV. SV. Different contexts; subject in RV. *induvah*, in SV. *ayam* (= *somah*) *sa yach*.

sukṛtām loke śidata (AV. *śida*) AV. TS. MS. Subjects *dakṣiṇāḥ*: *odanah*.

śrudantu (śradāti, °*tu*) *havyam* (yajñam) *madhunā gṛhṇeta*. Different contexts and subjects; plural form RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.; sing. VS. MS. KS. TB. The form *śrudātu*, MS. only, seems to be a blend of the other two.

yachāḥ stha yachāṣṭ bhūyāsam ApŚ. (subject waters): *yaso 'si yaso 'ham trayi bhūyāsam* (ApMB. adds *asau*) ApMB. HG. (subject a man).

vītā rūpāni puṣyata (°*yasi*) AV. (both).

lokan me yajamānāya vinda (and, ūha, *vindata*) ChU. (both). Subjects Agni or Vāyu: Ādityas.

yajñam naḥ pātu (TB. *pātu*) *rajasah* (TB. *vasarah*) *parasmāt* (TB. ApŚ. *paraśtāt*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

agna ājyasya vyantu saujhak; *agnim ā° vetu cau°*; *agninājyasya vyantu cau°*; *agnir ā° vetu cau°*, all ŚB. 2. 2. 3. 10.

apām oṣadhīnām rasa stha TS. TB. (not MŚ.!).: *apām puṣpam aśy oṣadhīnām rasaḥ*. . . PB. TB. LŚ. ApŚ.

āpura stā mā. . . *pūrayata* ŚŚ.: *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata* TS. AŚ.: *āpruo 'si sandprṇah* (ApŚ. corruptly, *āpruṣi sandprṇa*). . . *ā prṇa* ŚŚ. ApŚ. Four quite different contexts with different subjects.

imam me apadam kṛta (AV. *kṛti*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. To one or more herbs; different contexts.

kratun punita (and, *punata*) *ānuṣak* RV. (both). 3d sg. and pl. impf. mid.

divaz (SV. *divah*) *prsthāny āruhan* (AV.* °*hat*) AV. (both) SV. Subjects *Āṅīrasas*; *Agni*.

§371. Change of Person (between 2d and 3d) with Change of Number
(a) Singular, Dual, and Plural

sunoty ā ca dhāvati RV.: *sunuta ā ca dhāvataḥ* RV.: *sunota ca dhāvata* AV. Cf. RVRep. 315. Verbs are all appropriate to the respective contexts.

(b) Singular and Dual

chinttam kīro api prsth śṛṇitam AV.: *prsthir vo 'pi śṛṇātu yātudhānāḥ* AV. Subjects are *Aśvins* and *Rudra*; hardly comparable.

pibatam somyam madhu RV. (quinquies) SV.: *pibati so° ma°* RV. (semel) SV.

madhrā yajñam mīmikṣatam (and, °*ti*) RV. (both).

śam no bhūtam dvipade śam catuṣpade RV. MS. KS.: *śam no bhava* etc., *śam na edhi* etc., *śam no astu* etc.; in many texts and different connexions; see Cone.

(c) Dual and Plural

madhye divah svadhayā mādayante (RV.* °*gethe*) RV. (both) AV. VS. See RVRep. 118.

ye kilālana tarpayatho (and, *tarpayanti*) *ye ghyena* AV. (both). Subjects *Heaven* and *Earth*; *Maruts*.

indravantaḥ (ŚŚ. °*tā*) *havir idam juṣethām* TB. ApŚ. ŚŚ.: *indravanto ha° i° juṣantām* TB. ApŚ. *Vikāra*; subjects *śundaśirau*; *pitarah*.

(d) Singular and Plural

gaṇān me mā vi firṣaḥ (MŚ. °*ṣat*) TS. MŚ.: *gaṇān me mā vy aririgah* Vait.: *gaṇā me mā vi firṣan* VS. TS. ŚB.: *gaṇair mā mā vi firṣata* MS. See §337.

- rāyaś ca poṣair abhī nah sacadhrām* (and, *sacatām*) AV. (both).
juṣasva haryam śhulām RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *juṣantām*... TS. MS. KS. The last occurs in the same stanza as in RV. 3. 22. 4 = VS. 20. 90, both of which read *juṣantām yajñam adruhaḥ*. Contamination between the two *pādas* is obvious.
śāntiḥ yonim apī gachata (TB. ApŚ, **tu*) TB. ApŚ. (both) AŚ. ApMB. HG.
iha sphātīm sam ā vahān (vaha) AV. (both). The second is a *vikāra* of the first.
ārāc cid dreyah sanutar yuyotu (RV, **ta*) RV. (both) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.: *ārāc cid dreyo vṛjano yuyotu* RV.
ījam ārjam yajamādyā dhehi (Vait. *dattvā*; AV. *duhrām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. Three different contexts, in AV., Vait., and YV. texts respectively.
mamāmitrān vi vidhyata (and, **tu*) AV. (both). Cf. also: *amitrān no vi vidhyatām* AV.
viśvam puṣyanti vāryam RV. AV.: *vi² puṣyasi vā²* RV. AV. SV. See RVRep. 99.
svastī rāye maruto dadhātana (MG, **tu nah*) RV. KS. AB. MG. Knauer assumes that *maruto* is understood as a nom. sing. and made the subject of *dadhātu* (perhaps for *māruṭo*). Certainly no 3d person is construable; Knauer's suggestion is hardly more than one of despair. But all his mss. read thus, and the Baroda ed. (GOS. 35; 1926) agrees.

9. Corruptions and Errors

§372. The following are merely corruptions or errors of one kind or another. Some involve variants of person as well as number.

(a) Singular and Dual

antaḥ tiṣṭhatu (MG, **to*) *me mano 'mptasya ketuḥ* SMB. HG. MG. All mss. of MG. read **to*, and the Baroda ed. agrees. The form cannot be interpreted grammatically. It must be either a phonetic variant (u:o) or a mere corruption. See Knauer's note.

śrotṛāya me varcodā (TS. **dou*) *varcase* (MŚ. omits) *parasva* (TS. *pave-thām*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. So the Conc. wrongly supplies in TS. 3. 2. 3. 2, after the abbreviation *śrotṛāya* which is all that the text reads. It is address to a soma-cup (*graha*), and clearly a singular expression, not a dual, is understood. No variant exists. Similarly under *aṅgebhya me*.

(b) Dual and Plural

supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartanāśme (AV. *kartam-asmaḥ*; VSK. *kartam asme*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. Subject is *Śunāsārd* (dual). Mahidhara can find nothing to say except that the plural form *kartana* is used in the sense of the dual. It is, indeed, hard to imagine who else may be included in the subject (gods in general?).

viśvāḥ pīṃvathah (TB. *°tha*) *masarasya dhenāḥ* RV. MS. TB. The TB. form is to be taken as intending *pīṃvathah*, dual (sandhi before *+cons.).

apsarasāṃ anu dattām ṛṣāṃ nah (TB. TA. *ṛṣāṇi*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsara-sām anudattāṇṛṣāṇi* MS. The MS. reading is badly corrupt; *anudatta* is uninterpretable; p.p. *anu*, *dattāṇi*, *ṛṣāṇi*, which is just as bad.

indrāvathuh (VSK. *°dhuh*; KS.* TB. ApŚ. *°tan*) *kāryair* (TB. ApŚ. *karmayā*) *daṁśasāṁbhīḥ* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. The VSK. reading is only a corruption, phonetic in character (sonant for aurd); and yet a 3d person (dual!) seems required in all texts; see Oldenberg, *RVNöten*, on 10. 131. 5.

(c) Singular and Plural

puṁśah kartur mātary asiṣikta JB.* *puṁśā kartā mātari mā nī ṣiṅca* KBU. The Conc. says 'read *ṣiṅcata*' for KBU. In any case a 2d plural form must be read; according to Deussen, *60 Up.* 25, three mss. read *mā asiṣikta*, nearly as in JB.

mātā jaghanya sarpati (HG. *gachanti*; read *gachati*, Kirste) ApMB. HG. *pibā somam indra mandatu* (Svidh. erroneously *mandantu*) *teṣā* RV. AV. SV. TS. AB. KB. PB. AA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Svidh.

hastaryuti (SV. *°tan*) *janayanta* (SV.† *°yata*) *prahastam* RV. SV. KS. KB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. Subject is *naro*, in preceding *pāda*; unless this is felt in SV. as singular, from the later stem *nara*, the verb-form is uninterpretable. Benfey translates as plural, regarding the form as anomalous.

aram ādvāya gāyati (SV. *°ta*) RV. SV. Subject is the n. pr. Śrutakakṣa in the next *pāda* (nom. in RV., voc. in SV.). The plural verb in SV. is anomalous; it is perhaps vaguely felt as including the associates of Ś. (cf. §§353 ff.), or as a plural of respect (? unlikely).

agnihotrenedanāḥ havir ajuṣatāvīṛdhata (AŚ. *°cīṛdhanta*) *maho jṇāyo* 'krta TS. AŚ. Read in both texts (with TB. Poona ed.) *agnir hotrenedanāḥ...°ṛdhata*...AŚ. is doubly corrupt. In the same passage, just before this, the same formula with *devā ājyapā(h)* as subject; read in AŚ. (1. 9. 5) *maho jṇāyo* 'krata (text 'krta; this section is listed as a separate formula in Conc., see §367).

tañ te duṣṣakṣā māva khyan TS. 3. 2. 10. 2 (so Cono., but the reading is *khyat*, followed by *m-*, hence *n* by sandhi): *duṣṣakṣā te māva kṣat* (*khyat*, *kṣat*) MS. KS.

sarasvatyā (°tyām) adhi manāḥ (with variants) *acakṣṛuh* (KS. *acakṣṛ*°; SMB. *cakṣṛdhi*, but Jørgensen *acakṣṛuh*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. See §§136, 236.

adārasyd bharata (AV. °tu) *deva soma* AV. TB. ApŚ. *bhavata* is apparently assimilated mechanically to *mṛdatā* of the next pāda, of which *maruto* is the subject. Here *soma* is addressed, and the subject is *adārasyd*; *bhavata* makes no sense; Caland renders *bhavatu* in ApŚ. Yet *bharata* is read in both edd. of TB., and was clearly the Tait. school reading. TB. comm. fatuously makes *bharata* equivalent to *bhava*.

ā pīlaram vaiśvānram avase kaḥ (PB. *kūḥ*; comm. *kaḥ* = *kuru*) PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Perhaps only a misprint in PB.

divodāśya randhayaḥ (SV. °yan) RV. SV. Tho Benfey keeps *randhayan* in his text, he translates 'du übergabst', as if °*yah*; so the comm., *sahvīlavān asi*; *randhayan* is hopeless (perhaps felt as nom. sg. pple.?)

evastī caratād iha (SMB. *ayam*; MG. *caratā diśaḥ*) Kanś. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. Spoken by the *guru* at the *upanayana*; *caratād* is 3d person; subject is the boy. In MG. *caratā* is only a corruption, phonetic in character; note the following *d-*, and compare the extensive section on 'False Divisions' which will appear in our volume on Phonetics.

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